The Cross-Channel Interests of the Baronage of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, 1189-1204

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Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text and bibliography.

My dissertation (or any significant part of my dissertation) is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or that is being concurrently submitted, for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution.

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Abstract

The Norman conquest of England in 1066 created a cross-Channel baronage whose personal interests in Normandy and England were an important influence on their subsequent political activities during the reigns of the Norman king-dukes. While there has been extensive scholarship on this theme prior to 1154, there has been only limited research in the later twelfth century, when the Plantagenets ruled both countries. Most modern assessments of baronial motives and behaviour during the latter period assume their cross-Channel interests had diminished, becoming less influential on their ambitions and actions, and contributing to the loss of Normandy in 1204.

The purpose of this thesis is to test the validity of these conclusions through a study of the baronial families of two specific areas, the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, between 1189 and 1204. The extent of their commitment to maintaining the cross-Channel connection is determined through a detailed analysis of their cross-Channel interests and activities, based primarily on the evidence provided by their own charters, and the increasingly abundant records of the Plantagenet administration. The two regions presented their barons with different circumstances and challenges. In the Pays de Caux significant cross-Channel interests were largely confined to a small number of very rich barons, whereas in the Cotentin they were distributed more extensively across many lesser families. Similarly, the two regions were exposed to different external influences: the Pays de Caux was increasingly vulnerable to the expanding influence of the king of France, whereas the barons of the Cotentin continued to maintain their traditional connections with the cross-border families of the Norman-Breton frontier. The barons of these two regions have been little studied previously, in contrast to those of the frontier regions of Normandy, especially by Daniel Power, and hence the thesis provides a fresh perspective on the barons of Normandy during the reigns of the final two Plantagenet king-dukes.

The thesis consists of an introduction, including a survey of the historiography and sources, a main body of four parts each divided into two chapters, a conclusion and appendices, including genealogies of selected families. The first two parts examine the personal stake of individual barons in both countries through an analysis of the

distribution and evolution of their cross-Channel landholdings, and their participation in social networks within local aristocratic communities in Normandy and England. This understanding of where barons focused their ambitions, whether in one country or on both sides of the Channel, informs the assessment in parts III and IV of their political interest in maintaining the Anglo-Norman realm as reflected in their military service in Normandy and loyalty to the Plantagenet king-dukes. The analysis reveals that by the end of the twelfth century these cross-Channel interests remained of vital importance to the baronial families and underpinned the consistent loyalty shown by most to the Plantagenet rulers. This close alignment with the king-dukes encouraged many families to extend their cross-Channel interests in this period, further strengthening their commitment to the Anglo-Norman realm.

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been the work of a lifetime. I embarked on research many years ago, with a different title and a much wider scope, during my first period as a PhD student in Cambridge between 1981 and 1983. Having failed to complete this the first time around I always harboured a desire to return to the subject and complete the thesis, and for this I am truly indebted to my supervisor Liesbeth Van Houts who showed great kindness and patience to take on a very mature student and provide superb advice and encouragement throughout. Her responsive and insightful feedback and comments knocked many rough edges off my rusty historical skills and helped transform my writing style from one shaped through a long civil service career, to one more suited to historical writing.

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Finally, I would like to thank my family for their tolerance, encouragement and support throughout. Firstly my wife Sue has shown enormous patience when I have been buried in deep thought about some Norman baron, and has always been encouraging and supportive. Also my son Will has been similarly encouraging. He has, I am pleased to say, inherited my interest and now teaches as head of history in a school in London. I am particularly grateful to my daughter Sarah and husband Mikey

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Contents

Abbreviations

ADC	Archives Départmentales du Calvados (Caen)
ADM	Archives Départmentales de la Manche (Saint-Lô)
ADSM	Archives Départmentales de la Seine-Maritime (Rouen)
ANS	Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Bonport	*Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bonport*, ed. J. Andrieux (Evreux, 1862)
Boxgrove	'Chartulary of the Priory of Boxgrove, 'ed. L. Fleming, *Sussex Record Society*, vol lix (Lewes, 1960)
Bricquebec	*Cartulaire de Saint-Ymer-en-Auge et de Bricquebec*, ed. C. Breard (Rouen, Paris, 1908)
Bruton	'Bruton Cartulary', *Somerset Record Society*, viii (1894), pp. 1-104
Calvados	*Extrait des Chartes at autres actes qui se trouvent dans les archives du Calvados*, Lechaude d'Anisy (Caen, 1834)
CAP	*Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1856)
CB	*Cartae Baronum*, ed. N. Stacy (PRS, 2019)
CBN	Cartulaire de la Basse Normandie (London, The National Archives, PRO 31/8/140B)
CDF	*Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, 918-1206, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899)
Chester	*The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society cxxvi (Chester, 1988)
CN	*Cartulaire Normand de Philippe Auguste, Louis VII, St Louis,* ed. L. Delisle

Coggeshall	*Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1875)
Coll. Mancel	Collection Mancel 296-300 (Caen, Musée des Beaux Artes, Charles Duhérissier de Gerville, 'Répertoire ou recueil de chartes extraites de cartulaires ou dépôts publics et particuliers du département de la Manche')
Diceto	*The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, Dean of London, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London 1876)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1914-1965)
FR	*Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londoniensi Asservata*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835)
GC	*Gallia Christiana*, ed. D. Sammarthani et al., 17 vols. (Paris, 1715-1865)
Gervase	*The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1879-80)
HGM	*History of William Marshal*, eds. A. J. Holden, S. Gregory and D. Crouch, 3 vols. (Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002-6).
Howden *Chronica*	*Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London 1868-1871)
Howden *Gesta*	*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1867)
IP	*Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed, H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997)
ISADM	*Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départmentales de la Manche anterieures à 1790; archives ecclésiastiques : série H* (6 vols.), eds. F-N. Dubosc, J. Seguin, F. Dolbet, P. Le Cacheux, P. Thomas-Lacroix, A. Legoy (Saint-Lô, 1866-1942)
Itinerary	*The Itinerary of King Richard I*, ed. L. Landon (PRS, 1935)
Jumièges	*Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, ed. J. J. Vernier, 2 vols., (Rouen, Paris, 1916)
LC	*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols. (London, 1833-44)

LCH	*The Letters and Charters of Henry II King of England (1154-1189)*, ed. N. Vincent, 8 vols. (Oxford, forthcoming)
LCR	*The Letters and Charters of Richard I King of England (1189-99)*, ed. N. Vincent (under preparation)
LF	*Liber Feodorum, The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, Deputy Keeper of the Records (London, 1920)
Longueville	*Chartes du prieuré de Longueville…..antérieures à 1204*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Rouen and Paris, 1934)
LP	*Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londoniensi Asservata*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835)
Marshal	*The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family*, ed. D. Crouch (Cambridge, 2015)
Mon.	*Monasticon Anglicanum*, W. Dugdale and R Dodsworth, ed. J. Caley et al, 8 vols., (London, 1817-30)
Mowbray	*Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107-91*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London 1972)
MR	*Memoranda Roll for 1 John*, ed. H. J. Richardson (PRS, 1943)
MRSN	*Magna Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols. (London, 1840-1844)
Newburgh	'Historia Rerum Anglicarum' in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., (London, 1884-5), vols. 1 and 2
NP	*Neustria Pia*, ed. A. du Monstier (Rouen, 1663)
NPR	*Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, eds. V. Moss with J. Everard (PRS, 2004 and 2016)
PR	*Pipe Rolls* (PRS, 1884-); *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second, Third and Fourth Years of the Reign of King Henry II*, and *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First Year of the Reign of King Richard the First*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1844)
PRS	Pipe Roll Society
RAH	*Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 4 vols. (Paris, 1909-1917)

RAP	*Recueil des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H. F. Delaborde (Paris, 1916)
RB	*The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols. (London, 1896)
RC	*Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londonensi asservati (1199-1216)*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London 1837)
RCR	*Rotuli Curiae Regis*, ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols. (London, 1835)
Redvers	*Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon 1090-1217*, ed. R. Bearman (Exeter, 1996)
RHF	*Recueil des historièns de Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1783-1904)
RJE	*Recueil des Jugements de l'Echiquier de Normandie au XIII siècle 1217-70*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1864)
RN	*Rotuli Normanniae ... Johanne et Henrico quinto Angliae regibus ... De annis 1200-1205, necnon de anno 1417* (London, 1835)
RPA	*Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed. J. W. Baldwin (Paris, 1992)
Saint-Georges	*Monographie de l'Eglise et l'abbaye de Saint-Georges de Boscherville,* A. Besnard (Paris, 1899)
Saint-Sauveur	*Histoire du chateau et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-vicomte*, L. Delisle (Paris-Caen 1867)
Saint-Victor	'Recueil de chartes concernant l'abbaye de Saint-Victor-en-Caux', ed. C. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *Société de l'histoire de Normandie Melanges*, serie 5 (1898)
Saint-Wandrille	*Etudes critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1913)
Southwick	Southwick: *The Cartularies of Southwick Priory*, ed. K. A. Hanna, Hampshire Record Office for Hampshire Council (1988-89)
TNA	The National Archives, London
Torigni	Robert de Torigni, 'Chronica' in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (4 vols.) (London, 1884-5), vol. 4

TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Vaux de Cernai	*Cartulaire de Notre Dame des Vaux de Cernai*, ed. L. Merlet et A. Moutié (Paris, 1857-8)
Wendover	*Roger of Wendover*, ed. H. O. Coxe, 2 vols. (English Historical Society, 1849)

INTRODUCTION

The Norman conquest of England in 1066 led to the creation of an aristocratic society with lands and other interests that spanned the Channel, giving far more substance to the connection between Normandy and England than if it had been based solely on the interests of members of the Norman ducal dynasty. As John Le Patourel first observed in his work on the *Norman Empire*, the cross-Channel interests of many members of the aristocracy were an important factor in the politics of the reigns of the Conqueror's sons. Both William II (1087-1100) and Henry I (1100-1135) created powerful coalitions among the barons with interests in both countries to support their campaigns to win control of the duchy, after it had been separated from England in 1087.[1] Because these kings were successful in reconstituting the Anglo-Norman realm after a period of separation, the cross-Channel interests of the leading barons are considered to have been a powerful influence in shaping political developments during this period.[2]

This cross-Channel aristocratic society came to an end a century later when King John lost control of Normandy in 1204. Most of the barons holding lands on both sides of the Channel were forced to choose between remaining loyal to King John and losing their Norman lands, or transferring their allegiance to King Philip of France but losing possession of their English lands. The general consensus among historians is that, by this time, the cross-Channel interests of the barons of England and Normandy had long been in decline, and were no longer a significant factor in determining their political actions, thus contributing to the loss of Normandy by King John. This conclusion is based primarily on the perceived passivity of the barons towards the developments that led to the political separation of England and Normandy. In 1203-4, baronial support for King John's attempts to retain the duchy appeared lacking, and afterwards no powerful baronial interest groups emerged on either side of the Channel

[1] Le Patourel's ideas on a closely integrated Anglo-Norman realm were introduced in the Stenton Lecture of 1970 (J. Le Patourel, *Normandy and England, 1066-1154* (Reading, 1971)), but more fully developed in J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976). See particularly pp. 103-9 and 190-201.

[2] See, for example, C. W. Hollister, *Henry I* (Yale, 2003), pp. 155-6, 184, D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 49, 106, and M. Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy, 911-1144* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 162-163.

to support the subsequent initiatives of the kings of England or France to re-unite the two lands.

Most modern interpretations of baronial motives and behaviour have tended to follow the reasoning advanced by contemporary historians. There have been few detailed studies of the interests and activities of individuals or groups of barons, drawing on the extensive administrative records and charter evidence available in this period, to confirm these conclusions. The purpose of this thesis is to test the validity of these conclusions through a prosopographical study of two groups of barons who held lands in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin regions of Normandy. It will assess the importance of their cross-Channel interests, and their personal commitment to maintaining the political link with England, during the final years of Plantagenet rule. The study will seek to determine whether their cross-Channel interests had declined in importance by the end of the twelfth century, and whether baronial indifference was an important factor in the eventual separation of Normandy from England in 1204.

In what follows, I will survey the existing scholarship of the subject first. This will be followed by a section on the gaps in modern scholarship which I hope to fill in this thesis. Then I will survey the available sources I used. The introduction will conclude with an indication of the structure of the thesis and its main conclusions.

Historiography

The prevailing view in modern scholarship, of a declining baronial interest in the cross-Channel connection, is based primarily on the argument that, by the end of the twelfth century, there were far fewer barons holding valuable lands in both Normandy and England than in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Consequently, few had any significant material interest in maintaining the political link between the two countries. In the immediate aftermath of the conquest of England in 1066, many of the close supporters of King William I, such as Hugh of Chester, Roger de Montgomery, William de Warenne, Odo bishop of Bayeux and Geoffrey bishop of Coutances, received vast estates in England while many other Normans, including many from quite modest backgrounds, saw their fortunes transformed by the grant of extensive

English lands.[3] However, following the death of the Conqueror in 1087, when Normandy and England were under separate rulers for most of the period up to 1106, the conflicts between Robert duke of Normandy and firstly King William II of England, and then King Henry I, forced many of the leading barons to give their support to one of the protagonists but forfeit their lands under the control of the other. As a result, various major cross-Channel baronies, such as those of Robert de Bellême, William count of Mortain, Robert d'Estouteville and William Malet, were dismantled. In other cases, the separation of England and Normandy, and the consequent uncertainties of holding lands of two different rulers, may have prompted a number of families to emulate the Conqueror in 1087 and assign their Norman lands to the eldest son and English lands to a younger son, or occasionally vice versa. This occurred in the Beaumont, Ferrières, Bohon, Reviers and many other families in the late eleventh century, or the first two decades of the twelfth century. As a consequence, Judith Green concluded, in her study of the aristocracy of Norman England, that few large cross-Channel baronies survived into the later twelfth century and, subsequently, the Angevin kings did little to rebuild any cross-Channel interest among the aristocracy.[4] Similarly, Kathleen Thompson argued that cross-Channel landholding lost its importance in the twelfth century because there were fewer families holding large honours in both England and Normandy. In the view of historians such as Maité Billoré, these developments resulted in a situation by the mid-twelfth century, and the arrival of the Angevin lordship under Henry II, where most baronial families had become exclusively 'English' or 'Norman', with most of their interests on one side of the Channel.[5] David Crouch believed this tendency for families to divide into English and Norman branches, who had a very clear idea of the particular side of the Channel on which their principal interests lay, was an important long-term factor in the collapse of Plantagenet lordship in France.[6]

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[3] See most recently Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 74; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, p. 691.
[4] J. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 271; K. Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Anglo-Normande et 1204', p. 181, in *Le Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen-Age'*, eds. P Bouet and V. Gazeau (Caen, 2003), p. 180.
[5] M. Billoré, *De gré ou de force, l'artistocratie normande et ses ducs (1150-1259)* (Rennes, 2014), pp. 151, 288.
[6] D. Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London 1994), pp. 51–67.

This view of a decline in cross-Channel landholding in the course of the twelfth century has been questioned by others. Hagger describes King Henry I giving English lands to Norman and French lords after his accession in 1100, and before he gained control of Normandy in 1106, in order to construct a party of supporters against his brother and his continental enemies. He rewarded his supporters in the Cotentin and Bessin, such as Nigel and William d'Aubigny, and Ranulf vicomte of the Bessin, with important English baronies.[7] In his recent re-appraisal of the concept of a 'Norman empire', David Bates highlighted the continuing interest of cross-Channel elites in extending their lands in both countries into the late twelfth century.[8] Other historians have pointed to the creation of new cross-Channel baronies under King Henry II. Thompson cited the examples of the Norman families of Bohon and Estouteville, who expanded their landholding in England in the late twelfth century, while Daniel Power pointed to the vitality of the cross-Channel ambitions of William Marshal and the Le Hommet family in the final years of the Anglo-Norman realm.[9] Consequently, various historians have concluded that more detailed research is needed on cross-Channel landholding during the period of Plantagenet rule in Normandy, before any firm conclusions can be reached. In 1994, Bates considered it premature to propose hypotheses on such a large theme without proper evaluation of the large body of unprinted evidence in Normandy.[10]

The significance of the cross-Channel interests of these families was also dependent on the extent to which their landholding in both countries led to the creation of social connections, the development of retinues, and the consequent exercise of patronage and influence within local communities. The baronial families were probably the only section of aristocratic society with the wealth and territorial reach to develop connections, and the consequent networks of power, in a number of different localities within the Anglo-Norman realm. Hence, their influence was vital in maintaining any

[7] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 162, 163, 691.
[8] Bates, *Normans and Empire*, pp. 109, 168-9.
[9] K. Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Anglo-Normande', pp. 182 and 185; D. J. Power, 'The French interests of the Marshal earls of Striguil and Pembroke, 1189-1234', *ANS* 25 (2002), pp. 206-7, and 'Aristocratic Acta in Normandy and England c. 1150-1250, The Charters and Letters of the Du Hommet Constables of Normandy', *ANS* 35 (2012), p. 279.
[10] D. Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy, c. 911-1204', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), p.9; see also Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p.160.

substantial bond between the two countries. Le Patourel argued that the conquest of England created a largely homogeneous cross-Channel aristocracy. Most of the landholders in England were families of Norman origin who retained their interest in the duchy, and consequently the upper level of society in both England and Normandy was essentially one community.[11] This idea of a homogeneous Anglo-Norman nobility has since been challenged by various historians who demonstrated the diverse interests of the aristocracy of England and Normandy, and highlighted the parochial nature of many sections of that society. According to Green, the evidence from the early twelfth century indicates that social connections and relationships created after the conquest became localised very quickly and, so it is argued, by the later twelfth century, baronial families with true cross-Channel connections were very limited in number. According to the evidence of burials and religious patronage, many of the baronial families, and their dependants of Norman extraction who settled in England, developed predominantly British interests after 1066.[12] John Gillingham identified a similar trend but dated the change to the mid-twelfth century, when the families settled in England began to demonstrate a stronger attachment to their English assets.[13] In his study of the aristocracy of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in the twelfth century, Crouch identified the slackening of Norman colonisation of England after 1135 as contributing to the localisation of their interests. By the later twelfth century, few 'Normans' with interests in England played any part in local society there.[14] Similarly, Billoré concluded that families whose main estates were in the duchy, such as the Tancarvilles and Estoutevilles, continued to maintain ties with religious houses close to their main Norman estates but developed few connections with English houses.[15]

For various barons in Normandy, the connection with England was not the most important consideration. Many also maintained ties, based on landed interests and social connections, with other regions of northern France and these became more influential on their behaviour as the power of the Capetian monarchy grew in the later

[11] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, p. 254.
[12] Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 420-426.
[13] J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123-4.
[14] Crouch, 'Divided Aristocracy', pp. 56 and 61.
[15] Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* p. 164.

twelfth century. Power has highlighted the significance of these cross-border interests and connections, particularly for the barons of the Norman frontier regions. In these areas, these were clearly more important than any cross-Channel interests they held.[16] He also draws a distinction between the leading barons of the duchy – the earls and counts – who continued to maintain a trans-regional outlook encompassing England, Normandy and the lands in France bordering the duchy, and those barons at the next level down whose interests were concentrated in Normandy.[17]

For families of more modest means, from the lesser aristocracy and knightly classes of Normandy and England, maintaining lands far away on the other side of the Channel may have been impractical. By the later twelfth century, such individuals were firmly identified with the one or two localities where they had lands, and only in rare cases did they possess estates in both countries. Studies of the knightly classes in England, in the twelfth century, suggest that while many came over from Normandy in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, few retained any interests there. Crouch doubted that second generation knightly families would have regarded Normandy as their motherland. In the twelfth century, only seven families out of a total of seventy in Warwickshire and Leicestershire retained lands in both countries, and only one family still held these lands in 1204.[18]

Despite the recent scholarship pointing to the decline of cross-Channel connections within the aristocracy, various recent studies emphasise the diverse nature of baronial society. They caution against assuming a general decline in cross-Channel interests unless based on a detailed understanding of the circumstances of individual families. As Power commented on the reign of Henry II, 'in the absence of a comprehensive survey of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy it is impossible to know whether the connections between the two countries were in serious decline during Henry's reign.'[19] More recently, Bates has argued that in the mid twelfth century the cross-Channel elites, whose main wealth was in England, remained in contact with their

[16] D. J. Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 127.
[17] D. J. Power, 'Henry Duke of the Normans (1149/50- 1189)', in *Henry II. New Interpretations*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 95.
[18] Crouch, 'Divided Aristocracy', pp. 61-4.
[19] Power, 'Henry Duke of the Normans', p. 96.

Norman lands, which had special significance for them in terms of memory and emotional attachment.[20] There have been few studies of individual baronial families in the late twelfth century to determine whether they continued to value such connections with Normandy during the final years of Plantagenet rule over both countries.

The provision of military service in Normandy was a particularly important aspect of the relationship between barons and the king-duke during the period of prolonged war with the Capetians, from 1193-1204. It had the potential to bind together the aristocracy on both sides of the Channel in a common enterprise to defend the duchy, and preserve the political connection between Normandy and England. However, modern scholarship generally regards baronial military service under the Plantagenets as declining in importance, as the kings made greater use of mercenaries, and sought to exploit the fiscal opportunities available through commutation of service and the levying of financial penalties for not serving in the army. These conclusions are largely based on the comments of contemporary commentators rather than the royal-ducal administrative records relating to individual barons. The 'Dialogus de Scaccario', Richard fitz Nigel's commentary on the policy of Henry II written in the 1170s, suggests the king preferred to commute the military service owed by his barons for cash rather than ask them to serve, 'For the prince prefers to expose mercenaries, rather than his own people to the hazards of war.'[21] Other commentators highlighted the reluctance of barons to fight for their king-duke. Gervase of Canterbury and Ralph of Coggeshall remarked on the ease with which Norman castellans surrendered their castles to King Philip, while the Anonymous of Béthune suggested the English barons believed their Norman counterparts surrendered their castles too easily to the French.[22] Roger of Wendover claimed that the English barons were unwilling to fight for John during 1203, and sought licence to return to England when they witnessed his ineffectual response to the French attacks on Normandy.[23]

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[20] Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 131.
[21] *Dialogus de Scaccario (The Dialogue of the Exchequer) and Constitutio Domus Regis (The Disposition of the King's Household)*, ed. and tr. E. Amt and S.D. Church (Oxford, 2007), pp. 78-81.
[22] *Coggeshall*, p. 145; *Gervase* i, p. 95, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et rois d'Angleterre*, ed. F. Michel (Paris, 1840), p. 97; *HGM* ii, ll. 12557-12558. See also Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', p. 119.
[23] *Wendover* ii, pp. 207-8.

Many modern historians believed the increasing burden of taxation under King Henry II and his sons, much of it required to sustain military expenditure, caused increasing resentment among the barons. Warren, Morris and Greenway argued that the 1166 and 1172 surveys into knight service in England and Normandy, and the increased obligations they created, provoked the barons into opposition and rebellion in 1173.[24] Consequently, many have concluded that the increasing burdens of military service in Normandy during the 1190s, whether manifested through the increasing levels of financial exaction, or as a result of having to serve on the continent year after year, led to a growing reluctance to defend Normandy under King Richard and King John. Powicke regarded the crushing of the barons' power of resistance by the Plantagenets in Normandy as destroying their desire to unite against an invader. He believed this led to an increasing reliance on mercenaries and the non-feudal operations of finance, rather than drawing on the energy and support of Norman society.[25] According to Billoré, the prolonged warfare of the last two decades of Plantagenet rule caused the barons to desire peace resulting in many deserting King John.[26]

These conclusions, based mainly on contemporary narrative sources, require a fresh evaluation that takes into account the extensive evidence in the administrative records of the period. From the early 1190s onwards, the service provided in Normandy by barons holding lands in England is recorded more systematically in the Pipe Rolls of the English Exchequer, and, from 1199, is supplemented by the availability of the Fine Rolls, and the enrolled records of royal letters and charters. This material provides a unique opportunity to examine the actual provision of military service by individual barons that is not possible in the earlier period of the Anglo-Norman realm. The contrast with the period before 1189 is stark; Stenton observed that 'it is remarkable how little we really know about the nature of military service in the century after the Conquest'.[27]

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[24] W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), p. 378; J. Morris, 'The Assessment of Knight Service in Bedfordshire', *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society* 5 (1920) p. 7; *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-91*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London 1972). p. xxix.
[25] F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy (1189-1204),* (Manchester, 1961), p. 248.
[26] Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* p. 276.
[27] F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (Oxford, 1961), p. 168.

The military service provided in Normandy by the barons formed part of their broader political support for the efforts of the Plantagenet rulers to maintain their rule in the duchy. The baronial politics of the reigns of King Henry II and his sons have been studied extensively by modern historians but, until the early 1190s, the security of their cross-Channel interests would have rarely concerned the barons as the political separation of England and Normandy appeared unlikely.[28] Consequently, other themes have received more attention and assumed greater prominence. According to Warren, for example, the baronial politics of the reign of Henry II were dominated by the policy of the king to restore royal and ducal authority after the civil war. He resumed alienated royal lands, retained escheated honours, seized baronial castles, and strengthened the reach of royal and ducal justice, all of which alienated many of his barons.[29] More recent studies of the royal court by Nicholas Vincent, and the Norman baronage by Daniel Power, have highlighted the distant and often difficult relationship of the king with many of his barons.[30] Nevertheless, baronial politics remained complex. Various historians have noted that a number of barons on both sides of the Channel were closely associated with the Plantagenet regime. Keefe, in particular, argued that it was the policy of Henry to involve the feudal elite in his government.[31]

Many historians see the uneasy relationships between the Plantagenet king-dukes and their barons ultimately contributing to the loss of Normandy. In his study of the English aristocracy, Crouch argued that King Richard's relationship with the barons in England was compromised by his prolonged absence in Normandy, which made assembling the English barons on a regular basis and achieving consensus impractical.[32] During the reign of King John, the systemic effects of Angevin government reached their crisis. Holt identified the king's relentless exploitation of

[28] For example, the various succession arrangements of Henry II never contemplated the separation of Normandy and England (Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 108-9, 229-30, 596-8).
[29] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 124, 368, 378.
[30] N. Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt' in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age*, eds. P. Bouet and V. Gazeau (Caen, 2003), p. 84 and 'The Court of Henry II', in *Henry II. New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 287-291; Power, 'Henry Duke of the Normans', pp. 101, 117.
[31] T. K. Keefe, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and His Sons* (Berkeley 1983), pp. 100-108.
[32] D. Crouch, *The English Aristocracy 1070-1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven and London, 2011), p. 80.

the system of justice, taxation and ill-defined custom for political and financial purposes as a critical factor in the creation of the powerful baronial opposition to his rule.[33] Many historians accept that John ultimately mismanaged his relationship with the barons. Carpenter concluded that King John failed to maintain any balance in his rule, particularly in respect of keeping of the peace and dispensation of justice. Church highlighted King John's failure to engage his barons successfully and secure their support for his important policies, particularly those concerned with the preservation of his continental lands.[34]

Baronial resentment of the oppressive nature of Plantagenet government is thought to have undermined their support for the campaigns of King Richard I and King John to retain Normandy. In his major study of the loss of the duchy, Powicke concluded that support from the barons was lacking and outlined three critical causes: the fiscal exhaustion of England and Normandy, the strong 'absolutist' government of the Angevins, which evolved into tyranny under King John and alienated the baronage, and the increasingly powerful influence and attractions of the King of France and his court, held in check under King Richard, but more intrusive under King John.[35] Two of these themes are echoed in Holt's analysis, presented in his Raleigh Lecture of 1975.[36] The financial burdens of the conflict undermined the enthusiasm of the barons for defending Normandy, and the increasing influence of the French King led to the defection of important frontier barons. Power's work on the Norman frontier confirms these conclusions for the frontier barons, who maintained traditions of hostility towards the dukes, rendering them vulnerable to the advances of the king of France.[37] Other historians, such as Billoré, emphasise the fiscal, and other burdens, imposed on the Norman barons during the long years of war.[38] A number of peripheral arguments have been contributed by other scholars which they thought help to explain the failure of the aristocracy to support the efforts of King Richard and King John. Southern

[33] J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 143-4 and *Magna Carta*, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 60-5.
[34] D. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London, 2015), p. 188; S. D. Church, *King John; England, Magna Carta and the Making of a Tyrant* (London, 2015), pp. 135, 139, 144.
[35] Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, pp. 297-302.
[36] J. C. Holt, 'The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm', *Proceedings of the British Academy* lxi (1975), pp. 34, 39-40.
[37] Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', pp. 133-4.
[38] Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* pp, 276-7.

argued the cultural superiority of the Ile-de-France over Normandy was an important influence, while Musset saw the prominence of English officials and nobles in the duchy as significant in causing disaffection among the Norman barons. Both regarded the emergence of distinctive English and Norman identities as crucial, a point echoed more recently by Carpenter who remarked on the growing 'Englishness' of the barons who imposed Magna Carta on King John.[39] In truth, however, as Power observed, a wholly satisfactory explanation of the passivity of the aristocracy to the loss of Normandy continues to elude historians.[40]

Recent scholarship mostly follows the views of contemporary commentators on the sudden and dramatic collapse of Plantagenet rule in Normandy in 1203-4. However, these medieval reports remain vague, with few specific references to the actions and motives of individual barons, and the reasons advanced lack consistency. Gerald of Wales believed oppression by the Plantagenets had been one of the factors behind the lack of will shown by Norman barons to defend the duchy against the French in the late twelfth century.[41] The biographer of William Marshal suggested the behaviour of King John's mercenaries and officials alienated the barons of central Normandy. Roger of Wendover believed the desertion of King John by the barons in England and Normandy was prompted by his failure to resist the advances of King Philip.[42] Clearly, contemporaries struggled to comprehend events. It appears that few had detailed insight into what individual barons were doing or thinking in this period, perhaps because most chroniclers were based in England and hence remote from the main political events in Normandy.[43]

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[39] R. W. Southern, 'England's First Entry into Europe' in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 135-57; L. Musset, 'Quelques problèmes de l'annexation de la Normandie au domaine royal français', in *La France de Philippe-Auguste: le temps de mutations*, ed. R. H. Bautier (Paris, 1982), pp. 291-307; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp. 246-7.

[40] D. J. Power, 'Angevin Normandy', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and E. M. C. Van Houts (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 83.

[41] *Gerald of Wales, Instruction for a Ruler* (*De Principis Instructione)*, ed. R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2018), pp. 616-8.

[42] *HGM* ii ll. 12585-620; *Wendover* ii pp. 207-8. The depredations of mercenaries in central Normandy are also referenced in a letter written around 1227 by Gaudin, a citizen of Caen (*Diplomatic Documents preserved in the Public Record Office, I (1101-1272*), ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1964), no. 206). This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, p. 219.

[43] See p. 20 below for a discussion of the contemporary chroniclers of the period and the absence of contemporary commentators based in Normandy.

Underpinning many of the arguments of declining baronial support for the maintenance of an Anglo-Norman realm is the belief that, by this time, few barons possessed any significant personal interests or material stake in both countries to mitigate the other factors. Crouch's conclusion perhaps summarises the views of many other recent historians, that only a fraction of magnates with cross-Channel interests supported the King's desire to keep Normandy, and, after the loss of the duchy they no longer exerted themselves among their dependants to support a reconquest.[44] Yet the view of Powicke, whose conclusions in many areas are still accepted by historians, is that many of the barons remained attached to their cross-Channel interests and spent considerable time in both countries. He also noted the difficulties for them created by the loss of Normandy, and hence believed the barons did not want to see the political connection severed between Normandy and England.[45] In addition to the contemporary narrative sources, he based his work on an extensive analysis of the royal-ducal administrative records, which inevitably provide a more diverse and complex picture of baronial alignments and activities than is possible from the generalised *rapportage* of the chroniclers. In many cases, this material, revealing the regular attendance of individual barons at the ducal court, and their extensive participation in the government of the duchy, provides a different perspective on the barons and their commitment to the regime. This study makes full use of this material for the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, which coupled with a new understanding of their own personal interests, provides a fresh evaluation of the degree of political support provided by them to the maintenance of Plantagenet rule in Normandy.

Present Thesis

From this analysis of modern scholarship on the barons in the late twelfth century, it is clear that we lack sufficient detailed understanding of the interests of individuals, or of larger groups of barons. Without such an analysis, drawing particularly on the evidence of their own charters and their associations, we cannot be certain that a decline in cross-Channel landholding occurred in the course of the twelfth century, or that social connections became increasingly confined to one country. Similarly, there

[44] Crouch, 'Divided Aristocracy', p. 67.
[45] Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, pp. 304-5.

has been no comprehensive analysis of the military service provided by individual barons in support of the efforts of King Richard I and King John to retain possession of Normandy. The increasingly abundant administrative records of the period make it possible to examine whether barons were reluctant to defend the duchy against King Philip. The same records have been used extensively in many studies of baronial politics in this period but, since the work of Powicke, and more recently that of Power on the barons of the Norman frontier, there have been few that have analysed the level of political support provided by individual barons to sustaining the Plantagenet regime in Normandy.

By focusing on the barons who held lands in two regions of the duchy – the Pays de Caux and Cotentin - it is possible to take account of most of the surviving evidence, including the unprinted charters of the barons and their followers, to address these gaps. From this evidence, it is possible to determine the extent and geographical distribution of their landed interests, and whether their cross-Channel landholding had expanded or declined by the end of the twelfth century. This material also provides insight into many of their connections with other baronial families, their links with broader lay society, reflected in their followers who served in their household or attended their courts, and in their patronage of local religious communities and churches. This analysis provides insight into the things that ultimately mattered most to a family, and formed the core of their identity and status as a leading member of the aristocracy. It highlights the places, communities, regions and countries where they focused their aspirations and activities. It can indicate whether their ambitions were increasingly parochial, focused on one area, or more broadly based, with evidence of active engagement in many localities in both Normandy and England.

The study also aims to determine the depth of the barons' commitment to maintaining the political connection between the two countries by analysing the military service provided by individual barons in the Plantagenet armies, during the wars in Normandy of the 1190s and early 1200s. Did they serve regularly in the duchy or avoid serving? Was the service given willingly or was it coerced or resented? In a closely related theme, the political support provided by individual barons to the efforts of King Richard I and King John to maintain the integrity of the cross-Channel realm is examined using evidence of their presence in the royal/ducal court, service in

their administration in Normandy, and their relationship with the king-dukes. The impact of the growing power of King Philip of France on these barons is also examined to determine whether it undermined the bond with their Plantagenet lords.

In order to carry out a study of baronial families to this depth, it was necessary to restrict the scope so that all the available evidence relating to them can be taken into account. Consequently, the period of the study is limited to the years 1189-1204, the final critical years of the Anglo-Norman realm, when most barons were faced with the loss of their lands in one country or the other, and hence most likely to reveal the depth of their commitment to retaining their interests on both sides of the Channel. Evidence is taken into account from outside this date range where it cannot be precisely dated, or where it has a bearing on developments within this period.

Similarly, it was also necessary to restrict the geographical scope to the baronial families of two regions of Normandy. The baronial families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were selected because they possess different characteristics from other regions of Normandy, where the baronage have been studied in detail. Previously, only the aristocracy of the frontier regions of Normandy have been subjected to a rigorous analysis of this kind in Power's study.[46] Ducal influence and control were generally weaker in these regions, and the barons often had connections and interests beyond the frontiers that inclined them towards more independent aspirations, and to more frequent episodes of disloyalty and rebellion. These characteristics made them more susceptible to the influences and advances of King Philip of France, and contributed to the loss of control of the duchy by King John.

In contrast to the frontier areas, the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were generally well insulated from the turbulence and insecurity of the Norman frontier lordships, and many baronial families had long traditions of close association with the ducal dynasty. The Pays de Caux in Upper Normandy lies close to the original political centre of the duchy at Rouen, and ducal influence was well established there from the early tenth

[46] D. J. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2003). There have been other important contributions to the study of the frontier baronage by K. H. Thompson in 'The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the Borders of Normandy', *ANS*, 18 (1996), pp. 177-99, and *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of Perche, c. 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002).

century. There were extensive areas of ducal demesne, and important abbeys founded by the ducal dynasty such as Fécamp, Jumièges and Saint-Wandrille.[47] Many of the important baronial families owed their wealth and importance to patronage by the dukes. The Cotentin, in the far west of Normandy, was brought under close ducal control much later, under Duke William II in the mid eleventh century. Many of the important baronial families also owed their position to ducal patronage and were transplanted there from other regions of Normandy by William around the same time.[48] This close relationship with the dukes of Normandy, and the fact that both the Pays de Caux and Cotentin are maritime regions, with important ports for cross-Channel traffic, may have encouraged the families of these regions to participate in the colonisation of England and hence acquire valuable interests across the Channel. Consequently, these two regions provide an opportunity to analyse the interests of the barons, and their response to events between 1189 and 1204, in the heartlands of ducal power in Normandy, where the cross-Channel connection and service in the ducal administration remained important features of baronial society until the end of the twelfth century.

The tenurial structure of both the Pays de Caux and the Cotentin in this period have been the subject of earlier studies by Le Maho and Delacompagne respectively, but otherwise the evolution of the landed interests of these families in the twelfth century, the strength of their connections and associations in these and other regions, and their political careers as barons have been little studied.[49] Within these two regions, twenty baronial families (ten in the Pays de Caux and ten in the Cotentin) have been selected for close analysis. These are listed, together with summary details of their landholdings, in Appendix I. These families comprised the main baronial landholders, and accounted for most of the lands held of the duke by lay tenants. Apart from these twenty families, there were many other members of the aristocracy in the Pays de

[47] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 51-2; J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines dans le Grand Caux a l'époque ducale', *Archaeologie Medièvale* 6 (1976), pp. 8-11, 16-19.
[48] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 111-117.
[49] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 5-148; F. Delacompagne, 'Seigneurs, fiefs et mottes du Cotentin (X-XII siècles)', *Archaeologie Medièvale* 12 (1982), pp. 175-203. The only barons of these regions who have been the subject of recent studies are William Marshal (D. Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London, 2002), and Power, 'The French interests of the Marshal Earls') and William du Hommet (Power, 'Aristocratic Acta').

Caux and Cotentin. These included a few lesser barons, and many members of the knightly class who held only one or two estates, sometimes directly of the duke but in most cases of the baronial families or the major ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief. Many of these individuals are referenced in the study, particularly where relevant to the main baronial families, but have not been studied to the same depth.

Sources

The sources available for the period 1189-1204 provide an opportunity to develop a deeper insight into the cross-Channel interests of the baronage of England and Normandy than is possible for earlier periods of the Anglo-Norman realm. A number of important surveys of landholding and service obligations of the aristocracy survive for England and Normandy, from the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, making it possible to establish the size and location of the estates, and providing a framework for the mapping of relationships and connections between the barons and their tenants. All these feudal surveys, carried out for the Plantagenet king-dukes and the Capetian kings of France, are available in printed editions.[50] The other important repository of information on baronial landholding, and their relationships with local communities are their own charters, and those of their tenants and associates. Many more of these survive from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries than earlier periods. Most of these charters concern the gift or confirmations of property and others rights for religious houses and lay recipients, and hence provide insight into relationships with local communities in Normandy and England. The witness lists in the charters, where they are included, can provide important evidence on the associates and followers of individual barons but need to be treated with caution. They may not list all those present, and where drawn up by a recipient may actually reflect the dependants or associates of the religious house rather than the baron. Consequently, evidence of baronial retinues and associates can only be constructed reliably from many charters given over longer periods of time, and ideally concerning

[50] The main surveys in Normandy from 1172 and the early thirteenth century can be found in *Receuil des historièns de Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al., xxxiii (Paris 1783-1904), and *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed J. W. Baldwin (Paris, 1992). The surveys in England from 1166 are printed in *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, (London, Rolls Series, 1896) vol. i, and the recent *Cartae Baronum*, ed. N. Stacy (PRS, 2019). The thirteenth century surveys can be found in *Liber Feodorum, The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, Deputy Keeper of the Records (London, 1920).

different recipients. In various cases, printed collections of charters or cartularies of the religious houses associated with these families are available while, for other families, the research is facilitated by the important work of historians in collecting their acts from a wide variety of sources and publishing them in a single edition. In this respect, the work of Crouch on the charters of the Marshal family, Barraclough on those of the earls of Chester, Bearman on the Reviers family and Greenway on the charters of the Mowbray family are invaluable.[51]

Nevertheless, a large body of material remains unpublished in manuscripts in the archives or libraries of England and northern France. Much of the relevant material is to be found in Normandy, particularly in Rouen and Caen, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Many of the unprinted cartularies of English religious houses are held in the British Library, National Archives, and other archives across the UK. Access to this unpublished material is essential for the reconstruction of the most complete picture of the interests and connections of baronial families in this period. The large volume of available material made it necessary to restrict the scope of the study to a defined group of baronial families within two regions of Normandy, so that it remained feasible to identify and collect information from most of their surviving acts. All the manuscript sources used in this study are listed in the bibliography.

Any study of the Cotentin is hampered by the catastrophic loss of many original manuscripts as a result of the destruction of the Archives Départmentales de la Manche, at Saint-Lô, in 1944. Fortunately, various documents, including individual charters and the cartularies of important religious houses of the region, were copied by nineteenth century archivists and antiquaries, and their transcripts survive in a number of locations. The most useful transcripts used in this study were those of Francois Dolbet and Charles de Gerville, in the departmental archives and Musée des Beaux Artes in Caen, and of Lechaude d'Anisy in the National Archives.[52] From

[51] *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family*, ed. D. Crouch (Cambridge, 2015); *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough (Chester, 1988), *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon 1090-1217*, ed. R. Bearman (Exeter, 1996), *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107-91*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London 1972).

[52] See *Norman Charters from English Sources*, ed. N. Vincent (PRS, 2013), pp. 75-7 on the destruction of the archives at Saint-Lô, and copies made by nineteenth century antiquarians. The collections of transcripts of Cotentin charters used in this study are Caen, ADC F 5690

these sources, together with summaries of the lost material in the 'Inventaires Sommaires' of the Archives de la Manche, compiled prior to 1944, it is possible to reconstruct part of the lost archive.[53] Nevertheless, large gaps remain. For example, there are relatively few surviving Norman charters of the earls of Chester, who were undoubtedly very active in the duchy. Barraclough's collection includes only 14 charters for Norman recipients issued by Ranulf III earl of Chester, compared with 235 for English recipients. This disparity can be partly explained by the loss of virtually all material for the abbey of Saint-Sever, the main family foundation at the centre of the earls' lordship in western Normandy.[54] Consequently, in this region, more than any other, there is a risk that the conclusions can be heavily influenced by what has survived and what has been lost. In various cases, the absence of any acts concerning Norman beneficiaries might suggest the family had lost interest in their Norman lands when, in fact, most of their acts might not have survived.

For the study of the political and military activities of the barons, between 1189 and 1204, the evidence is particularly rich compared to earlier periods of the Anglo-Norman realm. This makes it possible to develop more accurate assessments of the activities of individual barons, and their commitment to supporting Plantagenet rule. The royal charters of King Richard and King John are relatively abundant and, unlike those of their father Henry II, most have a place-date enabling the development from the witness lists of a more precise record of baronial attendance on the king-duke and participation in their courts. Other important records of the royal and ducal administrations survive from this period including, from 1199 onwards, the enrolled records of royal and ducal letters issued by the Plantagenet chancery, which provide a

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'Abbayes de La Manche et pièces diverses copiées par François Dolbet'; Caen, Musée des Beaux Artes, Collection Mancel 296-300, Charles Duhérissier de Gerville, 'Répertoire ou recueil de chartes extraites de cartulaires ou dépôts publics et particuliers du département de la Manche' (5 vols.); and TNA PRO 31/8/140B, 'Cartulaire de la Basse-Normandie', A. L. Lechaude d'Anisy.

[53] *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départmentales anterieures à 1790 archives ecclésiastiques : série H* (6 vols), eds. F-N. Dubosc, J. Seguin, F. Dolbet, P. Le Cacheux, P. Thomas-Lacroix, A. Legoy (Saint-Lô, 1866-1942). Unfortunately, these summaries were only completed for religious houses up to the letter M.

[54] *Chester* no. 181 note. Earl Ranulf III issued various charters for the abbey of Saint-Sever as there is a reference to one in the records of the Norman exchequer court (*RJE* no. 158). The only other known charters for the abbey are a reference to the original foundation charter, issued by Hugh I earl of Chester, in a fifteenth century document transcribed by Gerville (Coll. Mancel iv p. 1687), and a general confirmation charter given by Ranulf III's father, Earl Hugh II (*Chester* no. 181).

level of intimate detail on the day-to-operation of their administration that is not possible for earlier periods. Many of these letters and acts concern individual barons and hence are an important source for their activities, and relations with the royal-ducal government.[55] The records of the Exchequers of England and Normandy provide another rich source of information on the interactions of individual barons with the royal and ducal administrations, including valuable information on military service. Virtually all the English Pipe rolls survive from this period, and there are surviving records from the Norman Exchequer for 1195, 1198, 1201 and 1203. The Exchequer court in Normandy continued to function after 1204, and its records provide additional insight into the affairs of the barons who remained in Normandy after the conquest of the duchy by King Philip.[56] Also, from 1194, the administration of King Philip of France began to maintain an archive of royal charters, and other documents. Consequently, many royal acts survive which have been collected and published in printed editions, providing further insight into the relations between King Philip and the barons in Normandy.[57]

The surviving chronicles and literary sources for the period provide important information on the political context and, occasionally, specific information on individual barons although substantial biographical information is lacking. The one important exception is the biography of William Marshal, composed in the 1220s and based on the personal reminiscences of his followers, which adds significant detail on the career of this remarkable individual, as well as unique insight into the culture and

[55] For the development of record keeping and enrolment in the Plantagenet chancery see N. Vincent, 'Why 1199? Bureaucracy and Enrolment under John and his Contemporaries', in *English Government in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. A. Jobson (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 17-48; D. Carpenter, '*In testimonium factorum brevium*: the Beginnings of the English Chancery Rolls', in N. Vincent (ed.), *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm. Papers Commemorating the 800th Anniversary of King John's Loss of Normandy*, (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 1-28; and *Norman Charters*, ed. N. Vincent, pp. 3-20.
[56] *Recueil des Jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie au XIIIme siècle (1207-1279)*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1864).
[57] For the development of the French royal archives see J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (University of California, 1986), pp. 402-18. The important printed collections of charters of King Philip are *Cartulaire Normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis et Philippe-le-Hard*i, ed. L. Delisle (Caen, 1852); *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1856); *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. A. Teulet, 5 vols., (Paris, 1863-1909); *Recueil des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H. F. Delaborde (Paris, 1916); and *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed J. W. Baldwin (Paris, 1992).

preoccupations of lay aristocratic society.[58] Unfortunately, in this period, there is a lack of literary sources providing detailed information on events in Normandy. Most contemporary historians of the Anglo-Norman realm were based in England, including Roger of Howden, Ralph of Coggeshall, William of Newburgh, Gervase of Canterbury and Roger of Wendover. For reasons that are not entirely clear, there were few historians at work in Normandy during this period.[59] While the English chroniclers refer to events in Normandy, these mainly concern the periods when King Richard or King John were present in the duchy. At other times their coverage is sparse and our knowledge of events remains obscure. The chroniclers of the reign of King Philip of France, Rigord and William Le Breton, provide additional information on events in Normandy but are largely concerned with the activities of King Philip.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis that follows is composed of four parts. The first two examine the personal interests of the baronial families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. The final two parts analyse the activities of the barons on the wider political stage, between 1189 and 1204, and what they reveal about the strength of their commitment to maintaining their interests in both countries. Part I assesses the evolution of their cross-Channel landholding using the full range of available material including their own surviving charters, and other unprinted evidence in the archives of Normandy and England. This evidence is used to determine whether the extent of cross-Channel landholding had declined significantly since the early twelfth century, the ambitions and priorities of the representatives of these families during the period 1189-1204, and whether barons had focused their ambitions in one country or continued to value their estates and pursue new opportunities on both sides of the Channel.

Part II explores the engagement of the families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin with local society in Normandy and England, drawing particularly on the evidence provided by their own charters, and those of their followers and associates. It

[58] *History of William Marshal*, eds. A. J. Holden, S. Gregory and D. Crouch, 3 vols. (Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002-6).
[59] The few Norman annals of this period are sparse in detail and add very little additional information. See, for example, *Les annales de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1954), which is probably the most useful.

examines their relationships with local religious houses, revealed by gifts and other evidence of personal attachment, and within lay society, including their connections with other baronial families and with the broader aristocratic community of tenants and dependants. This material is used to determine the extent to which these families remained attached to communities and society on both sides of the Channel, or whether these had become confined to one country during the late twelfth century.

Part III examines the extent and nature of their participation in the royal and ducal armies of the period, which were heavily engaged in the defence of Normandy. The evidence on military service, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, is assembled to develop a comprehensive picture of the service obligations of the barons in Normandy, how these were discharged, and the measures used to encourage and reward service. This provides a basis for the analysis of the actual provision of military service, and other military responsibilities of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, to determine how many served regularly in the duchy during these years, and why they provided this service. When the detailed evidence is examined it inevitably presents a more complex picture, and suggests that, for many of these barons, military service in Normandy was given willingly and brought them potential profit and rewards.

In part IV, the detailed evidence available on the baronial families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin is assessed to understand the degree of political support each provided to their rulers, particularly where this had a bearing on their efforts to retain control of Normandy. This evidence includes the frequency of their attendance at court with the king-dukes, participation in their government through the holding of offices or military command responsibilities, the receipts of rewards and political favours potentially given for loyal service in the defence of Normandy, and any indications of opposition or withholding of support. This analysis is used to determine whether there was any decline or collapse of support among this group of barons which contributed to the loss of Normandy by King John or, where this was not the case, to determine how their relationship with the king was affected by the loss of lands and interests on the other side of the Channel.

This study calls into question many of the assumptions of previous scholarship on the baronage, concerning the nature of their personal interest in the two countries, and their commitment to maintaining the cross-Channel connection during the final years of its existence. I present evidence to show that the cross-Channel interests of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were more extensive and firmly based than in other regions of Normandy, and were reflected in the consistent loyalty shown by most of these barons to their Plantagenet rulers during this period. As Powicke suggested over a century ago, many of those who maintained lands and connections on both sides of the Channel retained a strong interest in preserving the link between England and Normandy to the very end. The barons of these regions were less exposed to external influence, particularly the growing power of the king of France. For them, the connection between England and Normandy was of more significance, and many continued to extend their cross-Channel interests in the years immediately preceding 1204. Consequently, I argue that we need to reconsider the role of the barons in the loss of Normandy, recognising that in various regions the influence of barons with cross-Channel interests remained strong. They provided the Plantagenet king-dukes with a reservoir of loyal baronial support and commitment to their continued rule over both countries. Nevertheless, even this support was vulnerable and ultimately depended on the continuing faith of the barons in the ability of their king-duke to maintain his rule in both Normandy and England.

Part I

The Evolution of Cross-Channel Landholding in the Twelfth Century

CHAPTER ONE

Cross-Channel Landholding in the Pays de Caux

The distribution of baronial lands between Normandy and England is of fundamental importance in understanding the political commitment of the barons to the preservation of the Anglo-Norman realm. Ultimately their lands defined their position in society. They provided most of their wealth, the means to project influence and build retinues of dependants and supporters, which in turn underpinned their status and power as leading members of the aristocracy. If barons possessed valuable lands in both Normandy and England they might prefer to see those countries under the same ruler, particularly when previous periods of separation had resulted in war between their rulers and many barons lost possession of their lands. However, there is a persistent belief in modern scholarship that the incidence of barons holding lands in both countries had declined significantly by the end of the twelfth century, and consequently their interest in maintaining a political connection between them had diminished.[1] This chapter will examine whether this was true for the barons of the Pays de Caux, and whether the retention and pursuit of property on both sides of the Channel remained an important consideration in their territorial aims and ambitions.

Due to its proximity to Rouen, the original centre of ducal power in Normandy, the Pays de Caux was a region where the authority of the dukes was well established.[2] The extensive ducal demesne was used to endow many of the greater abbeys of the region, such as Fécamp and Saint-Wandrille, and important followers of the early dukes. By the late eleventh century, there were eleven baronial families whose landed wealth distinguished them from the many knightly families, and most owed their rise to ducal patronage. Chief among these were the Tancarville, Giffard and Warenne families, whose vast estates set them apart from the rest, and whose successors continued to dominate the tenurial landscape of the region until 1204.

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[1] See the Introduction, pp. 2-4 for a discussion of the scholarship relating to cross-Channel landholding by the aristocracy.
[2] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 51-2, 89, 123; Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 8-11.

In the eleventh century, the Tancarvilles were important members of the ducal household, as hereditary chamberlains of the duke, and granted extensive lands in the Pays de Caux.[3] In the 1172 survey of Norman fiefs, William de Tancarville had 94 and three-quarters knights' fees on his Norman estates.[4] Most of these lands were located in western areas as dependencies of their two castles at Tancarville and Haillebosc (now disappeared but close to Rouville near Bolbec).[5] It was clearly a rich honour and most of the tenants held single fees or fractions, so there were no major sub-tenants who might challenge their lord's authority.[6] Many of the Tancarville estates were located close to Giffard lands, particularly in the west of the region. For example, Tancarville and Giffard estates occupied a continuous block of land along the Seine between Harfleur and Tancarville. This may reflect the common origin of the two honours as the result of grants from the ducal demesne in the mid-eleventh century. The Tancarvilles also held estates outside the Pays de Caux, including the small fief of Mezidon in the Pays d'Auge, acquired by marriage in the early twelfth century, and minor estates in the Cotentin.[7]

The lands of the Giffards were of a similar size, comprising over 102 knights' fees in the 1172 survey.[8] The family was originally established on two groups of estates in the western part of the region, around Bolbec and the castle of Montvilliers. After 1055, the Giffards acquired substantial lands to the east, formerly held by the count of Arques, where the family established their main residence at the castle of Longueville.[9] The Warennes held two important lordships. The lands of the Bellencombre honour were located along the edge of the forest of Eawy, on the eastern boundary of the Pays de Caux, an area where their estates intermingled with those of the Giffard honour of Longueville. In the thirteenth century, they comprised

[3] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 10-14, 18-24.
[4] *RPA* p. 269.
[5] For a map of the Pays de Caux showing the main baronial centres see p. 252 below.
[6] *RHF* xxiii pp. 618, 633, 644, 695; *RAH* nos. 80, 169, 176; *CDF* no. 261; *CN* nos. 903, 913, 918, 953; *Longueville* nos. 37, 39, 96.
[7] *Calvados* pp. 4, 92, 95-6, 99, 101, 105. Rabel de Tancarville married the daughter and heiress of Odo Stigand lord of Ecajeul in the early twelfth century (*Calvados* no. 92/1). The Tancarvilles were tenants of the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel in the Cotentin (*RHF* xxiii p. 703).
[8] *RPA* p. 271.
[9] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 37, 39, 44-6; *Longueville* nos. 3, 5, 15, 17, 95; *NPR* Hen II p. 43.

more than 13 and a half fees.[10] The Warennes also possessed the eastern frontier castelry of Mortemer, close to the county of Aumale. In the royal surveys of 1212-20, the fief had more than 22 and a half knights' fees and most were held by tenants holding one fee or less.[11] Many of the Warenne lands had been confiscated from the Mortemers, an important family that fell into disfavour with Duke William in 1054, when they were suspected of disloyalty.[12] The Mortemers were subsequently able to re-establish themselves at the castle of Saint-Victor-en-Caux where, in 1172, there were 13 and a half knights enfeoffed.[13] They still retained estates near Mortemer, including those at Saint-Riquier, which they held as tenants of the Warennes.[14]

The Mortemers were more typical of the remainder of the baronial families of the Pays de Caux, who never held lands on the scale of the three major families. Many were originally members of the ducal household, probably lowly knights, who owed their rise to ducal patronage in the later eleventh century.[15] This was almost certainly the case for the Estouteville, Malet, Martel and Esneval families, who were all established on ducal or abbey lands in the western Pays de Caux, or were granted lands within the larger baronies of the Giffards and Tancarvilles. These families were able to consolidate their position and status as independent lords during the wars between the Conqueror's sons, from 1087-1106, when they established powerful castles at the centre of their baronies.

The Estouteville lands were centred on their castle of Valmont (S-M, Yvetot), close to the abbey of Fécamp. They included other isolated estates near their ancestral castle of Étoutteville (S-M, Yerville), and east of Harfleur, where various of the estates may have been held of the Tancarvilles and Giffards. In the thirteenth century, the family

[10] *RHF* xxiii pp. 640, 643, 708.
[11] *RHF* xxiii pp. 641, 708.
[12] See D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London, 2016), pp. 138-9, and Hagger, *Norman Rule*, p. 126.
[13] *RPA* p. 270; *RHF* xxiii pp. 614, 640, 641, 707.
[14] In a charter of December 1204, Count Renaud of Boulogne ceded to King Philip the castle of Mortemer, previously held by William V earl Warenne, and whatever pertained to Mortemer castle except the village of Saint-Riquier, which had been held by Roger de Mortemer (*Layettes* i no. 733).
[15] See particularly Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 60;

held eight fees directly of the duke, and owed the service of two and a half knights.[16] The Malets established a barony centred on their castle of Graville Sainte-Honorine (now within Le Havre) and, by 1172, had twelve and a half knights enfeoffed on their lands.[17] The Malets also held a sizeable fief of the Giffards around Montivilliers, for which they owed the service of eight knights in the early thirteenth-century surveys.

The Martels may have been established during the reign of King Henry I (1100-35). William Martel I served as the king's butler, and was rewarded with estates in the western Caux at Bacqueville, Angerville, Graimbouville and Bornambusc. Some may have been carved out of the Estouteville estates after the family fell into disfavour as supporters of Duke Robert Curthose, who lost out to Henry I in 1106.[18] In 1172, Geoffrey Martel, son of William, owed the service of two knights and had at his service seven and one third knights.[19] The two other minor baronial families of the region, the Auffays and Esnevals, were also probably local knights promoted by the dukes. In 1172, Richard d'Auffay owed five knights service to the dukes and had sixteen fees on his lands, while Robert d'Esneval owed the service of three knights and had twelve and a quarter fees on his lands.[20] Two other important Norman families held minor estates in the region. The Count of Evreux held the honour of Gravenchon-en-Caux, located along the right bank of the Seine near Caudebec, with seven knights' fees in the early thirteenth century. The earl of Leicester held property in the centre of the region, around Yvetot, derived from his acquisition of the Breteuil honour in the mid-twelfth century.[21]

As many of the barons of the Pays de Caux owed their position and prosperity to the ducal family, it is not surprising that many participated in the conquest of England and acquired lands there. This accounts for the strong cross-Channel character of the

[16] *RHF* xxiii pp. 642-3; *RPA* p. 288. These included the lands of the Rames fief, acquired by Robert II d'Estouteville through his marriage to Leonia de Rames in the 1170s or 1180s (see p. 32 below). See also Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 62 on the origins of the Estoutevilles.
[17] *RPA* p. 269; Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 33-4, 41, 43.
[18] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 19, 79. The Martel family held a knights' fee of the Estoutevilles, at Angerville and Hamerville, in the early thirteenth century (*RHF* xxiii p. 642).
[19] *RPA* p. 269.
[20] *RPA* pp. 268, 269; Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 10-11, 15.
[21] *RHF* xxiii pp. 635, 705; Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p 46. Since the interests and activities in Normandy of the count of Evreux and earl of Leicester, during this period, were concerned with their main possessions in other regions of the duchy they are not included within the Pays de Caux families who form the main subjects of this study.

baronage in the region. Two of the three great families, the Giffards and Warennes, acquired English lands. By the time of the Domesday survey of 1086, William de Warenne's lands made him one of the greatest lay landholders in England with estates valued at £1165. [22] They comprised the compact honour of Lewes, formed soon after the conquest to defend the southern coast and communications with Normandy, a more scattered group of estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, and extensive lands in south Yorkshire. There were other lands in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hampshire, Essex, Northamptonshire, Surrey and Oxfordshire. In the thirteenth century, there were more than 145 knights' fees on these estates.[23] The Giffards also acquired extensive lands under the Conqueror, which were valued at more than £750 in 1086, and comprised estates in Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire. In 1166, they included 98 and a half knights' fees.[24] In contrast, the Tancarvilles did not profit immediately from the conquest of England. While the family came to hold a number of English estates in the course of the twelfth century, there is no evidence that any of these were in their possession before 1100. The earliest reference to their English lands is a charter of Henry I of 1114, confirming gifts to the abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville from their English manors at Avebury and Winterbourne in Wiltshire, Edith Weston in Rutland, and Hailes in Gloucestershire.[25]

Various lesser barons of the Pays de Caux also profited from the Conquest. William Malet, who served as a sheriff for King William I in a number of counties, was rewarded with extensive lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire that formed the honour of Eye.[26] The Mortemer family was established in the Welsh marches in the honour of Wigmore (Herefordshire), but also held lands in Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Devon, Dorset and Hampshire. By the mid thirteenth

[22] For the Domesday lands of the Warenne and Giffard families see Green, *Aristocracy*, pp. 80, 85, 94 and 182.
[23] *RB* i p. 204. See *LF* ii pp. 686-7, 690-1, 700, 705, 826, 878, 900, 904-7, 919,923, 1040, 1101 for the returns of the survey of 1242 relating to the Warenne fief. See also *LF* i pp. 128, 133, 494; *EYC* viii p. 3; *RC* 1 Joh pp. 21, 24, 2 Joh. pp. 96, 122.
[24] *RB* i p. 312; *CB* no. CXXXIV; *RAH* nos. 7, 466, 529, 702; *CDF* nos. 221-3, 226, 236; *RC* 1 Joh. p. 46.
[25] *CDF* no. 196.
[26] *LF* i pp. 137-8; C. P. Lewis, 'The King and Eye: a Study in Anglo-Norman Politics'. *EHR* 104 (1989), pp. 569-589.

century, their English lands included more than 30 fees.[27] William Rufus created a large fief for Robert d'Estouteville, made up of the Yorkshire lands of the Domesday tenant Hugh Fitz Baldric, and other lands in Lincolnshire and Hampshire.[28] Not all families acquired significant English interests in the generation after the conquest, including the Auffays, Esnevals and Martels. By the late eleventh century, only six of the eleven baronial families of the Pays de Caux had acquired significant English interests.

Many historians regard the subsequent developments, during the wars between the sons of the Conqueror, from 1087 to 1106, as damaging the cross-Channel interests of the barons. In the Pays de Caux, only two families were affected. Both the Estoutevilles and Malets supported Duke Robert Curthose in his conflict with his brother King Henry I, and were deprived of their English lands, although both managed to retain their Norman property after Henry's conquest of the duchy in 1106.[29] Following this early disruption to the post-conquest settlement, the cross-Channel interests of the aristocracy of the Pays de Caux remained remarkably stable for the remainder of the twelfth century, despite the potentially disruptive effects of the civil war of 1137-53, and the separation of Normandy and England. In fact, a number of baronial families managed to expand their landed interests. By 1204, cross-Channel landholding was probably more extensive than it had ever been, with more families holding lands in both countries, and many holding more valuable interests on both sides of the Channel.

A significant factor in the expansion of these interests was the continued association of a number of Pays de Caux families with the king-dukes, which remained a predominant feature of baronial society here throughout the twelfth century. As we have seen, the Tancarvilles did not acquire English lands during the immediate post-conquest phase of Norman settlement in England. Various historians believe they remained focussed on their extensive Norman estates during the twelfth century. For

[27] *LF* i pp. 50, 75, 93, 97, 100, 102, 140, 144. B. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society, 1087-1265* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 10, 27, 249-50.
[28] *EYC* ix pp. 1-14; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 128.
[29] Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 142-5, and 199-20 summarises the important forfeitures of this period. See also *Mowbray*, p. xxxiv. The confiscated Malet honour of Eye was granted by the king to his nephew Stephen in 1113 (Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 284).

Kathleen Thompson, they were examples of Normans who 'acquired no interests in English affairs'.[30] However, the evidence may be deceptive. William I de Tancarville (died before 1125) was a close supporter of King Henry I in his wars to secure Normandy and was rewarded with a number of estates in England, scattered across Lincolnshire, Rutland, Warwickshire, Surrey, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Somerset.[31] The grants did not include any established baronies owing military service to the crown, and a number were royal demesne manors. Consequently, they were never classified as an important barony in later feudal surveys, which may explain why historians have disregarded their significance. Nevertheless, the lands may have equated to a medium sized barony in terms of extent and value. There are references to estates in twenty different locations with particular concentrations in Gloucestershire and Lincolnshire.[32] Various manors were particularly valuable. In the early twelfth century, William I de Tancarville assigned revenues of £60 a year in his manor of Edith Weston (Rutland) to the abbey of Saint-George de Boscherville. In 1204, the manor of Upavon yielded £50 a year, and, in the early thirteenth century, Hailes (Gloucestershire) and Aston Cantlow (Warwickshire) were valued at £60 and £30 respectively. By the end of the twelfth century, the English lands probably yielded annual revenue in excess of £200, representing a respectable income from a medium-sized barony. [33] As no military service was owed and the lands were not extensively sub-infeudated, they were probably exploited directly as demesne manors or for money rents, which may account for their high value. For any baronial family,

[30] Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Anglo-Normande', p. 182. Billoré saw their power as principally Normandy based since they held few lands in England (Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* pp. 146, 319). See also Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 33 who questions why the Tancarvilles did not participate in the conquest.

[31] *LF* i pp. 51, 80, 617, ii pp. 1050, 1356; *RAH* nos. 43, suppl. 36; *CDF* nos. 196, 568; *LC* 6 Joh pp. 4, 9, 7 Joh p. 37. See Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 367 for the early twelfth century marriage of William I de Tancarville to Tiffany, one of the daughters of Stephen lord of Richmond, who received lands in Lincolnshire as her marriage portion.

[32] The Tancarvilles held lands at Hailes, Beckford, Ashton-under-Hill (Gloucestershire), Calstenworth, Denton, Grantham, Harlaxton, Londonthorpe, Somerby, Stoke, Stoxton (Lincolnshire), Edith Weston, *Huchelay* (Rutland), Great Easton (Leicestershire), Bruton (Somerset), Ashtead, Mithcam (Surrey), Aston Cantlow (Warwickshire), Avebury and Weston (Wiltshire) (*CDF* nos. 196, 213, 486, 568; *LCH* nos. 208, 272, 1747, 2828, Bruton nos. 14, 15; *LF* i pp. 80, 617; *PR* 19 Hen II pp. 104, 155, 191, *LC* 6 Joh p. 9, 7 Joh p. 37).

[33] *LC* 6 Joh p. 4; *LF* i p. 617; see also *PR* 20 Hen II, pp. 102, 142 for the revenues from various of the Tancarville lands when they were in royal custody during the great rebellion of 1173-4. For comparison with the revenues of the Tancarville English lands, in the late 1180s, the honour of Arundel, with 96 knights' fees, yielded revenues of around £400 a year (*PR* 27 Hen II, p. 145).

such an income would represent an important component of the family fortune. The Tancarvilles used the revenues to endow their favoured religious houses in Normandy, at Saint-Georges de Boscherville and Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge, and to fund other expenditures. In 1198, Ralph de Tancarville paid £96 at the English Exchequer, probably revenues from his English lands, to reduce his debts at the Norman Exchequer.[34] Hence, while the balance of the Tancarville landed interests continued to be tilted towards Normandy, by the middle of the twelfth century, the family possessed a valuable interest in England. This almost certainly influenced their political calculations and cross-Channel commitment for the remainder of the century. William II de Tancarville provided loyal service to King Henry II, apart from his participation in the rebellion of 1173-4, and his son Ralph faithfully served King Richard and King John until his death in 1204.[35]

The Martels were another Pays de Caux family able to acquire English lands for the first time in the early twelfth century, through loyal service to the king. As butler to Henry I, William Martel I was rewarded with lands in Dorset and later purchased additional lands from the bishop of Salisbury. He was an important supporter of King Stephen during the civil war and, after 1153, the family continued to hold a modest English fief of eight knights' fees.[36] The Estoutville family, relegated to the status of minor Norman barons after the loss of their extensive English estates following the capture of Robert I d'Estouteville at the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, were subsequently able to recover their position on both sides of the Channel through loyal service to the king-dukes.[37] From the mid-twelfth century, Nicholas d'Estouteville, the grandson of Robert I, who inherited the Norman lands, and his eldest son Robert II, served Henry II faithfully as ducal officials.[38] By 1180, Robert III was an important official in Upper Normandy. In the Norman Pipe Roll of that year, he had responsibilities in the Pays de Caux, including the farm of Lillebonne, and the ducal

[34] *NPR* Ric I p. 287
[35] For William II de Tancarville's military activities in the defence of eastern Normandy see *HGM* i ll. 1107-20. See Chapters 7 and 8 for the political support provided to the Plantagenet king-dukes by Ralph de Tancarville during the wars in Normandy between 1193 and 1204.
[36] *RB* i pp. 217-8; *CB* no. XXIX.
[37] Most of Robert d'Estoutville's estates in England were granted to a branch of the Aubigny family that later adopted the name of Mowbray (*Mowbray* pp. xx-xxiv). See Chapter 2, pp. 49-50 for the lands of the Mowbrays.
[38] For the Estouteville genealogy, see *EYC* ix pp. 1-3, 42; and p. 247 below.

castle of Arques while, in previous years, he had held the farm of Lions-la-Forêt.[39] Probably as a result of this service, Robert and his brothers, Nicholas and William, received extensive lands in the ducal demesne of Fécamp, including 44 and a half acres of forest, arable and pasture lands to the value of more than 230 *livres angevins* (equivalent to £57 10 s. sterling), and 200 acres in the forest of Lillebonne.[40]

An important aspect of baronial society that facilitated the expansion of cross-Channel landholding was the arrangement of marriages with other families.[41] Early in the reign of Henry II, Nicholas d'Estouteville acquired new lands in Somerset and Hampshire through marriage. His son Robert made an advantageous marriage that transformed the family fortunes in England. He married Leonia, heiress to the lands of the Rames family, and of Edward of Salisbury.[42] In addition to minor estates in the western Pays de Caux at Rames, Gommerville, Saint-Vigor d'Ymonville and Guillerville, Leonia inherited half the valuable English honour held by Hubert fitz Ralph in 1166. This comprised 30 knights' fees, and lands in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.[43] Robert died before 1185, leaving Leonia and their young son Henry as wards of the king, but he had succeeded in re-establishing his family as important middle-ranking lords with substantial cross-Channel interests. While the minority of Henry d'Estouteville interrupted the advance of the family in the 1190s, the possession of their new cross-Channel lands almost certainly influenced their future actions. Henry remained loyal to the Plantagenets until the final surrender of Rouen in June 1204.[44]

During the later twelfth century, the Mortemer family also acquired new lands through royal support and advantageous marriages. Initially, opportunities close to

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[39] *NPR* Hen II pp. 49, 53.
[40] See *NPR* Hen II pp. 42, 48 49, 53, 65 for references to the lands given to the Estoutevilles recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1180.
[41] The social implications of baronial marriages are examined in detail in Chapters 3 and 4.
[42] ADSM 19 H 2, fo. 182; *Widows, Heirs and Heiresses in the late Twelfth Century: the Rotuli de Dominabus, Pueris et Puellis*, ed. and tr. J Walmsley (Tempe, 2006), p. 106.
[43] For the Norman lands of the Rames family, see Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 21; ADSM 19 H 2; *CDF* no. 212. Various estates near Saint-Romain and Bolbec may have been held of the Tancarvilles. For the English lands see *EYC* ix 50, *CB* no. CLXVI; *RN* 4 Joh p. 92.
[44] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes,* i p. 250; see also Chapter 8 p. 213 for the political activities of Henry d'Estouteville.

their marcher lordship of Wigmore attracted their attention.[45] Hugh de Mortemer (died 1185) and his son Roger engaged in periodic warfare against the Welsh lords, with varying levels of success. Following Hugh's surrender of the royal castle of Bridgenorth and submission to Henry II in 1155, the family's conspicuous loyalty and support for the king, during the rebellion of 1173, brought rewards.[46] In England, Roger received income from royal lands in Worcestershire, while he was in the King's service during the rebellion of 1173-4, and, in the following year, he received an additional £66 from the farms of Shropshire and Worcestershire.[47] After Roger de Mortemer succeeded to the family lordships in 1185, he continued to seek to extend their interests in the Welsh marches. Roger briefly gained possession of Ellesmere in Shropshire in 1193 but, by mid-1194, the wife of the previous holder, Dafydd ap Owain, was in possession of the manor. In 1196, Roger and Hugh de Say were defeated by the Welsh lord, Rhys ap Gruffudd, at Radnor.[48]

Towards the end of the twelfth century, Roger de Mortemer was able to extend his Norman lands through marriage to Isabella, daughter of Walkelin de Ferrières, an important Norman baron, and loyal supporter and companion of King Richard. Isabella's dowry may have included lands at Drucourt, Faverolles, Saint-Martin de Tilleul, and Duranville, all close to Bernay and the centre of the Ferrières lordship, which were in Roger's possession prior to 1204.[49] This connection enabled Roger to expand his Norman lands further. In 1200-1, Ernaud de Drucourt quitclaimed to Roger his land at Drucourt that had been mortgaged to the Jews and redeemed by Roger for 1000 *livres* (£250 sterling). The land in question lay in the demesne of his

[45] For an account of the Mortemers' activities in Wales, see J. Crump, 'The Mortimer Family and the Making of the March', in *Thirteenth Century England VI,* eds. M. Prestwich, R. H. Britnell and R. Frame, (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 117-126, and Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, pp. 17, 20 143.
[46] Hugh de Mortemer's defiance of Henry II in 1155 is described in Torigni p. 184, *Gervase*, i, pp. 161-2, and Newburgh, i, p. 105. The castles held by Hugh, including the royal castle of Bridgenorth, were besieged by the King and Hugh later surrendered it. The Mortemers do not appear to have lost any of their ancestral lands as a result.
[47] *PR* 20 Hen II, pp. 26, 108; 21 Hen II pp. 37 and 127; Crump, 'The Mortimer Family', pp. 117-8.
[48] *Brut y Tywysogion, or, the Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hengest Version*, ed. and transl. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955), pp. 174-7; Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches,* pp. 145, 169-70.
[49] *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen*, J. R. Strayer (Princeton, 1936) p. 127-9; *Mémoires et notes pour servir à l'histoire du département de l'Eure*, ed. A. Le Prévost, 3 vols. (Évreux, 1862-9), ii no. 19.

father-in-law Walkelin de Ferriéres.[50] That Roger was willing to invest such a large sum demonstrates a strong interest in continuing to develop and expand his Norman estate during the final years of Plantagenent rule in the duchy.

In the earlier twelfth century, the Warenne family, with their important interests in Normandy and vast estates in England, had been active cross-Channel magnates. During the civil war, William III de Warenne had been a loyal supporter of King Stephen and his main agent in Normandy, leading the resistance against the Angevins and trying in vain to maintain a unified duchy and kingdom.[51] After his death on the Second Crusade in 1147, the Warenne interests passed to his daughter Isabella, who was given in marriage by King Stephen to his younger son, William count of Boulogne and Mortain. For more than a decade, the Warenne inheritance formed part of the vast complex of lordships held by William both before, and as a consequence of the settlement of 1153. After Henry II became king, such an accumulation of lands and power presented a significant threat to a weakened monarchy, and Henry began to strip away various castles and properties held by William and Isabella. These included the castles of Bellencombre and Mortemer in Normandy, part of the Warenne inheritance.[52] Nevertheless, the main family estates in Normandy and England remained intact and, following the death of William of Boulogne in 1159, came back into the family's possession in 1164, when Isabella married Hamelin, illegitimate half-brother of the King. It is likely that the Norman castles were restored to the family at a later date. An act of the count of Boulogne, who received most of the Warenne lands in 1204, implies that the castle of Mortemer had been held by the Warennes immediately prior to the loss of their Norman lands, earlier that year.[53] Hence, during the later twelfth century, the Warenne family retained the extensive cross-Channel lordships that had been held for many generations.

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[50] *RN* 2 Joh p. 19.
[51] Torigni, p. 147. See also E. King, *King Stephen* (London, 2010), p. 200.
[52] Torigni, p. 192. *PR* 2 Hen. II, p. 10, 3 Hen. II, p. 94. See also E. M. C. Van Houts, 'The Warenne View of the Past, 1066-1200', *ANS*, 21 (1998), pp. 169-74 which describes the efforts by the family to contest the losses in the papal court.
[53] In his charter of December 1204, Count Renaud ceded to King Philip and his heirs the castle of Mortemer, previously held by Earl William de Warenne, all the land of the English and Normans which he held, and whatever pertained to Mortemer castle except the village of Saint-Riquier, which had been held by Roger de Mortemer (*CN* no.1073).

As a loyal supporter of his half-brother Henry II, and his nephews Richard and John, Earl Hamelin was able to achieve a modest expansion of the Warenne cross-Channel interests. He made small gains in Normandy after 1178, when Robert de Portmort, a tenant of the Bellencombre and Mortemer honours, sold to Hamelin his fief at Louvetot (S-M, Bellencombre).[54] In the 1180s, Hamelin and Isabella revived a long dormant family interest in the advocacy of the abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer. As Elisabeth Van Houts concludes, the initiative for this may have originated with his brother the king, who was deeply involved in the politics of Flanders during these years. The advocacy brought with it certain lands and interests near Saint-Omer, which were the subject of charters issued by Hamelin, Isabella and their son William in the next few years.[55] In 1192-3, Hamelin expanded his English lands through an agreement with King Richard to exchange his estates in the Touraine at Coulommiers, Ballan and Chamberi, for the royal manor of Thetford, and probably Foulsham in Norfolk.[56] These estates had been held by Isabella's father during the reign of King Stephen. Hamelin was clearly more interested in recovering former Warenne family lands close to his Norfolk honour than retaining distant lands in the Touraine. He was later active in the English courts defending his rights over certain lands in Norfolk against the bishop of Lincoln, in 1198, and against the abbey of Cluny over the right to appoint the prior of Lewes, in June 1201.[57]

During the final decade of Plantagenet rule in Normandy, as Earl Hamelin grew older, his son, William V de Warenne, assumed a more prominent role in representing the family interests. He was particularly active in trying to preserve their Norman interests during the wars of 1202-4. After his succession to the earldom in May 1202, the most immediate issue facing the new earl was the loss of his Mortemer lands during King Philip's invasion of north-eastern Normandy. On 4 June 1202, soon after their loss, William obtained compensation in Normandy from King John, who gave

[54] *EYC* viii p. 83. The Portmort family also held lands at Portmort (S-M, Neufchatel) (*RHF* xxiii pp. 641, 708).
[55] Van Houts, 'Warenne View of the Past', pp. 116-9. There are three charters issued by Hamelin and Isabella concerning lands held by them in the Saint-Omer region, dating from the 1180s and early 1190s (*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. B. E. C. Guérard (Paris, 1841), nos. 327, 365, and 389).
[56] *LF* i pp. 128 and 133; *PR* 5 Ric I, p. 14.
[57] *RCR* i p. 290; Howden *Chronica* iii, p. 261.

him all the property of the count of Boulogne at Lillebonne.[58] A similar grant followed in November 1203, when the earl was given the lands of Guérin de Glapion at Roquefort and Crasville (S-M, Fontaine le Dun).[59] William clearly valued his Norman lands and, in April 1205, after the loss of his remaining estates in the duchy, he, together with other barons, sought permission from King John to cross to France to do homage to King Philip in order to recover their Norman lands.[60] The request was refused, but King John was forced to compensate the earl by giving him substantial properties at Stamford and Grantham, until he recovered his land in Normandy, or the King gave him a reasonable exchange.

While many Pays de Caux families extended their cross-Channel lands in the later twelfth century, the extinction of the Giffard family, in 1164, diminished the extent of cross-Channel landholding for a considerable period. The vast Norman and English estates of the family remained in royal custody until 1189, despite various branches of the Clare family having a claim to the lands through their descent from Rohese, daughter of Walter Giffard I.[61] While in royal custody, the value of the honour was diminished due to the grant of various lands to favoured royal officials, such as Richard du Hommet constable of Normandy, or to serve other political purposes such as the grant, in 1180, to Countess Ida of Boulogne of property at Harfleur, Montivilliers, Étretat and Bernoville.[62] In the 1220 surveys in Normandy, only 31 and a quarter fees are recorded of the fief of the Clares, whereas the 1172 survey suggests

[58] King John issued orders, on 4 June 1202, putting William in possession of all the family estates after the death of earl Hamelin (*LP* 3 Joh p. 10). The royal order granting him the property at Lillebonne is at *RN* 4 Joh p. 47.
[59] *RN* 4 Joh p. 47; *RN* 5 Joh p. 111.
[60] *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, pp. 99-100. See also Chapter 8 pp. 220-1 for a full discussion of this incident.
[61] For a description of the Giffard lands see Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 31-46; for the farm of the Giffard Normandy lands in ducal custody, in 1180, see *MRSN* i p. 59 (*NPR* Hen II p. 43). For the English lands, see *PR* 11 Hen II, p. 25, for the first year when the English honour was farmed as a royal escheat.
[62] For Henry II's grant to Richard du Hommet of Giffard lands at Auppegard in the Pays de Caux, see *LCH* no. 1330; *NPR* Hen II p. 43. For similar grants in England see *PR* 11 Hen II, p. 25. The lands held by the Countess Ida of Boulogne are recorded in *MRSN* i p. 90 and were probably given to the Boulogne family in the 1160s, as part of the settlement surrounding the controversial marriage of Ida's parents, Matthew Count of Boulogne and Mary of Blois (see H. J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies, Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160* (Brill, 2004), p. 203). These lands were later regained by the Clare family (*MRSN* ii p. 342 and p. 42 below).

that they should have held 51 fees if they had received half the Norman lands that pertained to the Giffard honour.[63]

Clearly, if the Giffard lands had remained in royal custody indefinitely, the extent of cross-Channel landholding in the Pays de Caux would have been permanently reduced, compared to the situation at the start of the century. However, in November 1189, King Richard divided the Giffard inheritance between Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford, and his cousin Isabella de Clare and her husband William Marshal. Since the interests of these families were concentrated in the British Isles, he effectively created two new major cross-Channel baronies that had a profound impact on the extent of overall cross-Channel landholding in the region. The king's decision was probably influenced by a number of political considerations, and is discussed in more detail in a later chapter. The arrangements for the division of the lands are described in the royal charter recording the grant, and were clearly intended to ensure that each family received a substantial stake in both Normandy and England.[64] While Earl Richard would hold the caput of the honour in England, and William and Isabella the Norman caput, the division of the rest of the lands provided each family with an equal share of both English and Norman lands, ensuring that both became significant cross-Channel landholders. Arrangements for the division of cross-Channel baronies in the early twelfth century usually resulted in the separation of English and Norman lands, and, if applied in this case, would have resulted in a reasonably equitable division of the lands. Clearly, in 1189, a conscious decision was made not to follow this precedent and to ensure both families acquired substantial cross-Channel interests, reflecting an increasingly common trend among baronial families in the later twelfth century.[65]

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[63] *RHF* xxiii p. 641.

[64] *Sciatis nos reddidisse et concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Ricardo de Clar' Comiti de Hereford' et Willelmo Marescallo et Ysabel' uxori eius filie comitis Ricardi totam terram que fuit comitis Giffardi in Anglia et in Normannia. Ita quod Ricardo de Clar' comiti de Hereford' remanebit esnecia et capud in Anglia et Willelmo le Marescal et Ysabel' uxori eius esnecia et capud in Normannia et totam aliam terram debent partiri inter eos* (*LCR* no. 1353R; *CA* no. 564). See also *PR* 2 Ric I, pp. 102, 144-145 and Chapter 7 pp. 178-9.

[65] This preference among many baronial families in the later twelfth century, to ensure family members retained property on both sides of the Channel, is discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Immediately prior to the division of the Giffard inheritance, William Marshal and his wife, Isabella de Clare, had been invested by King Richard with Isabella's inheritance of the important Welsh marcher lordship of Striguil. In 1166, this included 65 and a half knights' fees, lands in Gwent, and the lordship of Leinster in Ireland.[66] Isabella's Norman lands were modest. When the Clare lands were divided in 1117, Isabella's grandfather, Gilbert earl of Pembroke, inherited the family's Norman lordships of Orbec and Bienfaite in lower Normandy, and of Cottrévard in the Pays de Caux. However, Orbec and Bienfaite were lost in the civil war, during the reign of King Stephen, and there is no evidence of their restoration until after 1199, when William Marshal issued a charter granting rights at Orbec to the abbey of Foucarmont.[67] Power believes the fief may have been restored in 1200, when King John handed back the earldom of Pembroke, and other lands, to the family.[68] Hence, it is likely that the minor estates of Cottrévard were the only Norman lands in William's possession in 1189, when he stayed at Équiqueville, one of the manors associated with the honour, on his way to England to marry Isabella.[69]

Hence, the subsequent grant of the Giffard lands advanced William and Isabella into the front rank of the Norman baronage, and established them as one of the leading families of the Pays de Caux. Their share of the Giffard estates included the castle of Longueville, and the bulk of the estates in the eastern Pays de Caux.[70] Longueville had been the favoured Norman residence of the later members of the Giffard family, and the location of the family foundation of the priory of Longueville. In addition to the property at Longueville, William received estates near the Warenne honour of Bellencombre at Cressy, Varneville, and Bennetot, lands in and around Dieppe, and a group of estates and dependant fees near Cany. While most of the estates in the west of the region were allocated to Earl Richard de Clare, the Marshals held property at Montivilliers, Harfleur and Leure (now part of Le Havre). In practical terms, the

[66] *LF* i pp. 442, ii pp. 711-2, 724-5, 727, 743, 745; *RB* i p. 288; *CB* no. A/33; Torigni. p. 252; Newburgh, i pp. 167-9. See also Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 69-72.
[67] The 1172 inquest showing Orbec as a fief of the Montforts in royal custody is at *RHF*, xxiii p. 700. For the charter of William Marshal referencing Orbec, see *Marshal* no. 41. A case before the Norman Exchequer, in 1247, confirms that Orbec was in the possession of the Marshal family during the time of William's son Richard (*RHF* xxiii, p. 440).
[68] Power, 'The French interests of the Marshal earls', p. 203.
[69] *HGM* i, ll. 9464-8; For the association of Équiqueville with Cottrévard and the Striguil family, see ADSM 56 HP 1.
[70] *RHF* xxiii pp. 641-2; *Marshal* nos. 40, 41, 57, 59, 64, 66, 69, 97.

distribution of the lands meant that most of those allocated to William were close to the exposed north-eastern frontier, where the counties of Eu and Aumale were often in French hands during this period. It is not surprising that William, an important military leader in Normandy during these years, can be found operating in the north eastern marches, where self interest and protection of his own lands aligned well with his royal duties.[71]

The career of William Marshal in the service of the Plantagenet kings is the subject of many books, and his vernacular biography, the 'History of William Marshal', written by one of his followers in the 1220s, provides extensive insight not available for most of his contemporaries. He was no stranger to Normandy having lived much of his life there in the service of his successive patrons William de Tancarville, the Young King and Henry II.[72] He developed many connections with the aristocracy of northern France, and continued to serve there on behalf of his royal lords, in the 1190s and early 1200s. Consequently, he was inclined to look to both Normandy and England to expand his landed interests. A number of his private initiatives concerned his Norman estates, such as the grant of English lands to Roger d'Abenon, in return for Roger's fief at Abenon near Orbec. He made an exchange with the monks of Longueville of his lands at Saint-Laurent de Brévedent and rents at Montivilliers, in return for their land in the Pollet quarter of Dieppe. No doubt William was attracted by the commercial opportunities at the rapidly developing port.[73] However, William made his most substantial gains through his career in the service of the Plantagenet king-dukes when, after 1189, he occupied a leading role in their administration and the military organisation of Normandy. King John, in particular, was dependant on William's loyalty and, in May 1199, made a number of substantial grants, including the earldom of Pembroke and other lands in England. As discussed above, it is also likely that the Norman lordship of Orbec and Bienfaite, lost by the family in the 1150s, was restored at this time, thus confirming Le Patourel's observation that

[71] For example, William was responsible for supervising the defences of Arques in 1202 and 1203 (*Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer*, ed. S. R. Packard, Smith College Studies in History xii (1926-7), pp. 65-9). See Chapter 6 pp. 160-1 for full details of William's activities as a military leader in the region.
[72] *HGM* i ll. 814-1115, 4457-4748. Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 29-56. M. Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155-83* (New Haven and London, 2016), particularly pp. 35, 253-5.
[73] Power, 'French Interests of the Marshal Earls', p. 206. The charter recording the exchange of lands at Dieppe is *Marshal* no. 66.

disrupted cross-Channel baronies could be reconstructed, in this case nearly fifty years later.[74] William continued to receive further lands in Normandy. In June 1203, he was given the village of Clonville by the king.[75] William's career during these years provides a remarkable example of an important cross-Channel lord who was closely aligned with political leadership of the Anglo-Norman realm, and demonstrated a powerful interest in consolidating and extending his wealth in both countries. For Daniel Power, William Marshal is one of those leaders of cross-Channel society who "had arguably never exuded so much confidence in the Anglo-Norman connection as they did in the opening years of John."[76]

The response of Earl Richard de Clare to the acquisition of his new Norman lands is less well documented than that of his baronial colleague, and probably reflected his different background and interests. The family had possessed no Norman lands since the late eleventh century, when Richard's great-grandfather inherited most of the English lands of Richard son of Gilbert, count of Brionne, but the Norman lands were given to a collateral branch.[77] These English estates were substantial, positioning him in the front rank of the aristocracy as one of the senior earls of England. In 1166, the *carta* of Earl Roger de Clare, father of Earl Richard, recorded 149 knights enfeoffed on his estates, which were located mainly in Suffolk and Surrey, with other lands in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, Kent and South Wales.[78] Consequently, the family's territorial ambitions were confined to the English kingdom rather than the broader Anglo-Norman realm. One of their ongoing priorities was to remove their valuable fief of Tonbridge in Kent from the lordship of the archbishop of Canterbury. In an effort to establish his lordship, Archbishop Thomas Becket brought the case to the royal court in 1163, when earl Roger received the sympathetic support of many of his baronial colleagues. The issue was still being contested in 1200, when

[74] For the restoration of the earldom of Pembroke see Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 86-7. The barony of Orbec was in the possession of the family at the time of the French royal surveys of the 1220s (*RHF* xxiii p. 708). The honour comprised eleven knights' fees in 1172 (*RPA* p. 268). For Le Patourel's point, see Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, pp. 107, 193. David Bates makes a similar point that divided baronies were reconstituted in the course of the twelfth century (Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 109).
[75] *RN* 5 Joh p. 98.
[76] Power, 'French Interests of the Marshal Earls', p. 207.
[77] J. C. Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward: the Clare Family and the Crown 1066-1154', *ANS* xi (1988), pp. 262-7.
[78] *RB* i p. 403; *CB* nos. CCXXIII and CCXXIV; *LF* i pp. 603, ii pp. 684, 685, 907, 908, 1123; *RC* 1 Joh. p. 16.

Archbishop Hubert Walter was successful in recovering the homage of Earl Richard.[79] During the 1160s, Earl Roger also attempted, with little success, to expand the family interests in South Wales, where they been granted rights in Camarthen and Ceredigion by Henry I.[80] Other potential opportunities for expansion, which might have brought them Norman lands earlier, were blocked by Henry II. His retention of the Giffard estates as a royal escheat, in 1164, was almost certainly received with disappointment by the Clares. The subsequent intervention by the king in the succession to the earldom of Gloucester, in 1176, deprived Earl Richard of a share of the inheritance when he was forced to resign the rights of his wife Amice, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, in favour of her sister Isabella, who was betrothed to John, son of the king.[81]

After his acquisition of the Giffard estates in 1189, there is no surviving evidence of any acts of Earl Richard concerning the lands, tenants or religious houses associated with the Norman lordship, suggesting the earl took little interest in the lands. He may have had difficulty securing possession of them during the absence of King Richard on the Third Crusade. In 1194-5, there are two references that suggest the earl did not have possession of the Giffard lands. Gilbert de Morleiz, the ducal *bailli* in the Pays de Caux accounted for revenues of 22 l. 11s 8d from the land of the earl of Clare, and Earl Richard gave the king £1000 partly to secure his share of the Giffard inheritance.[82] The earl was perhaps unable to secure possession until 1195. Another factor may have been the weak lordship exercised by the Giffards in their lands in the western Pays de Caux, which were mainly allocated to Earl Richard in the division of 1189.[83] The lands dependent on the honour of Bolbec were relatively isolated, surrounded by the ducal demesne of the forest of Lillebonne, and had been subinfeudated. The earl's other fief of Montvilliers included important sub-tenants, such as the Malet lords of Graville, who held eight fees of the earl, and William Malet

[79] J. C. Ward, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge and the lands of the Clare Family in Kent, 1066-1217', *Archaeologia Cantiana* vol. 4 xcvi (1981), pp. 119-31.
[80] See Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 283 for Henry I's grant of Ceredigion to Gilbert Fitz Richard, lord of Clare, in 1110.
[81] Howden *Gesta*, i p. 307. See also Church, *King John*, p. 17 for a discussion of this case, where Henry II ignored the customary rights of heiresses in order to provide an appanage for John.
[82] *NPR* Ric I p. 11; *PR* 7 Ric I p. 225.
[83] The estates held by Earl Richard de Clare are listed at *RHF* xxiii pp. 641-2.

of Seneville, and William de Trubleville at Saint-Jouin, who both held two fees.[84] During the long period when the honour was in ducal custody, these powerful sub-tenants may have developed a degree of independence from the Giffard lordship.

Perhaps after a career when his personal ambitions and initiatives to expand the family interests had been confined to England, the circumstances and tenurial politics of the unfamiliar landscape of the Pays de Caux may have discouraged Earl Richard. However, the next generation, represented by his eldest son Gilbert, showed less inhibition in pursuing opportunities in Normandy. Like many other prominent barons, he was present in the duchy serving King John when lands were becoming available for distribution following confiscation from rebels. In January 1202, the king granted Gilbert possession of the lands of the count of Boulogne at Harfleur and Montivilliers.[85] These were almost certainly the former Giffard estates that had been granted to the Boulogne family during the 1160s, while the lands were in royal custody.[86] These were valuable grants, yielding 300 l. (£75) in 1180, reflecting the growing value of property at the thriving port of Harfleur. They probably included other estates at Étretat and Bernonville, that were held by Countess Ida of Boulogne in 1180, and yielded a further 160 l. (£40) in revenue. The acquisition of these properties represented a significant gain for the Clares. In September 1203, Gilbert made further gains in the duchy when the king gave him lands in Upper Normandy, at Montagny, Launoi and La Herlotere, which had been taken from Enguerrand de Montagny.[87]

Having set out in detail the cross-Channel lands of the baronial families of the Pay-de-Caux, it is clear that the notion of a decline in cross-Channel landholding in the twelfth century is untenable. In fact, immediately prior to 1204, it had probably reached its greatest extent as measured in terms of the number of baronial families holding valuable lands in both countries, and the proportion of lands in the region held by cross-Channel families. Not all families acquired lands in England in the

[84] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 32-3, 37, 41.
[85] *RN* 4 Joh p. 51.
[86] The value of the lands when they were held by the Count of Boulogne, in 1180, is recorded in *MRSN* i p. 90. See ADSM 14 H 18, and Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 39 for evidence of the Giffards holding property at Harfleur. Estates at Étretat and Bernonville (S-M, Fauville-en-Caux) are listed as fees of the earl of Clare in the 1220 surveys (*RHF* xxiii pp. 641-2).
[87] *RN* 5 Joh p. 104; *RHF* xxiii p. 639.

immediate aftermath of the Norman conquest. Before 1100, only two of the three great landholding families acquired extensive English interests. Of the remaining eight families, only half acquired English lands. In comparison, by the end of the twelfth century, nine out of twelve baronial families held English lands including all the great landholders (Tancarville, Warenne, Clare and Marshal).[88]

While the territorial gains made by these families in the twelfth century were less spectacular, and more incremental in nature, the cumulative effect of this steady progress, facilitated by the political stability of these years when forfeiture was rare, led to a real increase in the extent of cross-Channel landholding that has been seriously underestimated by modern scholars. Families that had previously held virtually no lands on one side of the Channel, such as the Tancarvilles, or Martels in England, or the Clares in Normandy, acquired significant interests overseas. Other ambitious barons, such as William Marshal, the Tancarvilles and the Mortemers were able to extend their cross-Channel interests in the late twelfth century. Only a few minor families, such as the Auffays, Malets and Esnevals, failed to advance their cross-Channel landholding. Clearly the baronial families did not represent the totality of the aristocratic community. There were many members of the knightly classes, typically holding just one or two estates as tenants of the major barons, or sometimes directly of the duke, whose influence needs to be taken into account in any assessment of the commitment of the political community to supporting the cross-Channel establishment. However, by 1204, the baronage of the Pays de Caux – comprising the powerful individuals who, alongside the dukes and their officials, sought to influence and lead this broader community - was dominated by families who had a significant stake in both countries.

This advance in cross-Channel landholding in the Pays de Caux was facilitated by the tendency, perhaps reinforced by tradition, for many barons to regard serving and supporting their dukes as the natural means to advance their family interests. This service often brought direct rewards through royal/ducal grants – such as those made to the Tancarvilles, Martels, Estoutevilles, and latterly William Marshal - which

[88] These numbers take account of the lands of the earl of Leicester and count of Evreux, who both held minor estates in the region. Their main Norman interests were elsewhere and hence they have not been included in this study.

transformed them into cross-Channel barons. This service may also have brought many barons into contact with other cross-Channel families in the royal and ducal courts, creating new opportunities to advance their fortune, often through marriage. Such advantageous marriages enabled the Estoutevilles and Mortemers to extend their cross-Channel interests. These developments were evident within this community of barons throughout the twelfth century, and accounted for the steady but significant expansion of cross-Channel landholding. During the final period of the Anglo-Norman realm, from 1189-1204, this expansion may have been further accelerated by the political developments of the time. The accession of kings, in 1189 and 1199, who were prepared to loosen their grip on escheated lands, allowed families like the Clares and Marshals to acquire long sought cross-Channel inheritances, while the wars in Normandy enhanced the flow of properties available for distribution as the lands of rebels were seized by the king-duke. These developments created new opportunities for the aristocracy, and both English and Norman assets were seen as targets for acquisition. The Mortemers, Marshals, Clares and Warennes were all able to acquire new lands in both Normandy and England by taking advantage of the royal willingness to acknowledge claims, and reward their followers with lands that had fallen into their hands. The vitality of such ambitions in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries demonstrates that, for many of the baronial families of the Pays de Caux, cross-Channel landholding remained an important characteristic, and a potentially powerful motivator of their actions during the final years of the Anglo-Norman realm.

CHAPTER TWO

Cross-Channel Landholding in the Cotentin

In late 1203 and the summer of 1204, many of the most important barons of the Cotentin, such as Ralph Taisson, William du Hommet, Richard de Vernon, and Fulk Paynel, chose to desert King John, becoming an important component of the new Norman aristocracy under the Capetians, but losing their English lands.[1] A number of their peers whose main lands were in England, such as the earls of Arundel and Chester, and William de Mowbray, chose to remain in England and lost their Norman lands. These barons are often seen as typical of the aristocracy of the late twelfth century, whose cross-Channel interests had declined so that few of them had any stake or interest in the preservation of the Anglo-Norman realm.[2] In the previous chapter, I took issue with this point of view, demonstrating that cross-Channel landholding by the barons of the Pays de Caux expanded during the course of the twelfth century. By 1200, there were more barons holding lands in both countries, and these lands were more extensive than in 1100. The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that the same circumstances and factors were present in the Cotentin, particularly the close alignment of many baronial families with the ducal dynasty. The aristocracy continued to profit from loyal service with the king-dukes, and was rewarded with new lands on both sides of the Channel. Consequently, like their peers in the Pays de Caux, the extent and distribution of their landholding in Normandy and England gave the barons of the Cotentin a significantly more valuable stake in the Anglo-Norman realm during its final years, between 1189 and 1204, than during the post-Conquest period of the eleventh century.

Many baronial families in the Cotentin owed their rise to ducal patronage, particularly by Duke William II, who built up his influence in the region following the defeat, in

[1] D. J. Power, 'L'établissement du regime Capetièn en Normandie', in A.-M. Flambard Héricher and V. Gazeau (eds.), *1204, la Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens* (Caen, 2007), p. 327.
[2] See particularly Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* p. 151 ('Au milieu du XII^{e} siècle, la plupart de ces familles sont donc devenues exclusivement anglaises ou normandes'); see also Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Normande', p. 180.

1047, of Nigel, hereditary vicomte of the Cotentin and the dominant landholder.[3] Duke William introduced a number of new families, drawn from his loyal supporters in areas close to the new ducal administrative centre of Caen. Chief among these was Richard de Reviers, who was given the honour of Néhou, one of the fiefs taken from Nigel the vicomte. In the survey of 1172, this comprised 30 knights' fees and estates located across the northern Cotentin, including the isle of Sark.[4] Later, Richard was granted the castelry of Vernon, a small compact fief in the Seine valley close to the Norman frontier, comprising sixteen knights' fees in the thirteenth century surveys. These lands, together with five knights' fees held of the count of Mortain, transformed the Reviers family into one of the leading barons in the duchy. Another important loyalist baron from central Normandy, Robert Bertran, lord of Honfleur and Beaumont-en-Auge, was given lands in the northern Cotentin seized from Nigel the vicomte. These formed the honour of Bricquebec, with seven knights' fees recorded in the thirteenth century surveys.[5] The bulk of the Bertran interests, however, remained in the Pays d'Auge, and included lands near the port of Honfleur, and inland near Pont l'Évèque, Dozulé and Lisieux, comprising nineteen fees in the survey of 1212-20. A third family introduced into the region was that of the Taissons, who also came from central Normandy, where they held the honour of Thury-Harcourt, with 30 and a half knights' fees, and an important mesne tenancy of the bishop of Bayeux. In the Cotentin, Ralph Taisson was granted the small lordship of Percy by Duke William II.[6] Further south, Hugh d'Avranches, another important supporter from central Normandy, with lands in the Lieuvin, Bessin and Hiémois, was established as vicomte of the Avranchin by Duke William.[7]

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[3] Nigel had participated in the rebellion led by Guy count of Brionne (Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 107-116).

[4] *RHF* xxiii pp. 609, 695, 711. For charters and other references to the Vernon estates see *RAH* nos. 34, 229, 308, 570; *CDF* nos. 860, 889-90, 941, 1293; *CN* nos. 33-4, 200-1, 328, 1057; *RN* 4 Joh pp. 77, 89, 96, 5 Joh. pp. 101, 102; *RC* 1 Joh. p. 64; *Saint-Wandrille*, no. 113; Sainte-Trinité, nos. 37-8; *Jumièges*, no. 114.

[5] *RHF* xxiii p. 608. For references to the Bertran estates in Normandy see *RAH* nos. 601, 679; *Saint-Ymer*, no. 24; *Bricquebec*, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9-11, 14, 15, 19, 29, 32-4; *NP* p.24. Robert Bertran was also hereditary vicomte of the Auge (*NPR* Hen II, p. 29).

[6] *RHF* xxiii pp. 609, 618, 637 694, 700, 703-4; *RAH* nos. 105, 180, 406, 515, 591; *CDF* no. 831; *CN* no. 594; *GC* Instr., pp. 61, 252, 1231; *Calvados*, pp. 12-3, 140-1, 147, 362-3, 366; *Saint-Sauveur* nos. 21, 31, 38, 40, 45-6, 48, 50, 52, 54-9, 67. For the eleventh century origins of the Taissons and their lands in central Normandy, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, p. 71.

[7] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, p. 118; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 38, 94.

Apart from these leading barons, William also introduced a number of minor baronial families from central Normandy into the southern Cotentin, where they were granted a series of smaller lordships, in many cases, formed from grants of ducal demesne.[8] William Paynel was given the honour of Hambye and Bréhal in the Cotentin, as well as a sizeable fief in the Avranchin, held of the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, with lands around Bricqueville-sur-Mer, Granville and the bay of Mont-Saint-Michel. He continued to hold the honour of Les-Moutiers-Hubert, comprising minor estates in the Bessin and elsewhere.[9] William, the ancestor of the Mohun family, was given the lordship of Moyon, located to the south of Saint-Lô, and retained estates in the Bessin. His successor held eleven knights' fees in 1172.[10] The Bohons and Aubignys may have originated as minor knightly families in the Bessin. The Bohons acquired the fief of Saint-Georges-de-Bohon, comprising nine knights' fees.[11] Nigel d'Aubigny may originally have been a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux but was given the small barony of Aubigny in the central Cotentin. In 1220, the lands of his Norman honour owed the service of two and a half knights to the duke and included lands around Aubigny, estates in the northern Cotentin, and a mesne tenancy of Mont-Saint-Michel to the south of Coutances.[12] The estates of the original Le Hommet family were concentrated in the Cotentin, but passed by marriage, in the twelfth century, to tenants of the bishop of Bayeux in the Bessin.[13]

Consequently, the baronage of the Cotentin came to be dominated by Norman families who owed their rise to Duke William II. A few of these families participated

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[8] For the early history of the lordships in the southern Cotentin see Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 116-9.
[9] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall (Oxford 1969-80) iii p. 259; *RHF* xxiii pp. 609, 610, 612; *CDF* nos. 714, 913, 1412; CBN PRO B ii p. 269; *EYC* vi no. 97.
[10] *RHF* xxiii pp. 611, 695, 701; *RAH* nos. 397, 570, 601, 735; *CDF* nos. 487, 493, 504, 780, 781, 782; *LP* 4 Joh. p. 29. The Mohuns also held two knights' fees of the bishop of Bayeux in the Bessin (*RHF* xxiii p. 701, *CDF* no. 1439).
[11] *RHF* xxiii p. 694; *CN* no. 220; *MRSN* i p. xii, ii p. xxxiii; *RAH* nos. 34, 322, 450, 679; *CDF* nos. 968, 971, 1215, 1439. The fief was divided, in the late eleventh century, between the Norman and English branches of the Bohon family, and so the 1172 survey contains separate returns from both families (see p. 59 below for the division of the lands).
[12] *RHF* xxiii pp. 611, 612; *RAH* nos. 154, 570, 735; *CDF* nos. 883-4, 920, 923, 965. 987, 1259; *CN* no. 121; *GC* p. 331. The evidence for the tenurial relationship with the bishop of Bayeux is from the 1133 survey of the lands of the bishop, when the Aubignys held half a knight's fee at Bougy in the Bessin, and a later charter of probably William I earl of Arundel, given in 1163 (*RHF* xxiii p. 700; *Calvados* Le Plessis p. 29 no. 1094, CBN PRO B iii 35).
[13] Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', pp. 262-3.

in the Norman settlement of England after 1066, acquiring substantial lands across the Channel. William de Mohun, who served as sheriff of Yorkshire, received the large honour of Dunster, which comprised 46 and a half knights' fees in Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire.[14] By 1086, Ralph Paynel held substantial lands in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, Devon and Somerset, and became sheriff of Yorkshire in 1088.[15] Hugh d'Avranches was established as earl of Chester soon after the Conquest, while Robert, lord of the honour of Montbray in the southern Cotentin, was made earl of Northumberland by William Rufus.[16]

However, a significant number of Cotentin families, including the Aubignys, Reviers, Bertrans, Taissons, Bohons and Le Hommets, acquired relatively little property in England before 1100. It was only after the accession of King Henry I that cross-Channel landholding became more extensive in the region.[17] This is perhaps surprising as, in the later twelfth century, Wace believed that many of these Cotentin families participated in the conquest of England, according to his account in the *Roman de Rou*.[18] However, it appears that many did not profit immediately during the first wave of Norman colonisation in England, and their cross-Channel landholding developed during the course of the twelfth century, particularly as a result of royal/ducal patronage. This is an important fact to bear in mind as it is not consistent with the general picture, presented by various historians, of the formation of the great cross-Channel baronies in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest, followed by a significant decline in the twelfth century.[19]

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[14] *RB* i pp. 226-7; *CB* no. XL and note; *LF* i pp. 401, 423-4, 426, 510, 515, ii pp. 694, 695, 717, 727, 728, 748, 749, 751, 761, 769, 771, 779; *RC* 5 Joh p. 109, 9 Joh p. 174; *LC* 6 Joh. p. 9; *LP* 6 Joh. p. 44.

[15] *EYC* vi pp. 2-10 for the history of the Paynel fiefs in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[16] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, p. 118; *Mowbray*, p. xviii.

[17] Green, *Anglo-Norman Aristocracy*, p. 35. See also Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 73 who suggests that the Taissons failed to acquire English interests from King William I because of their association with rebels in the 1040s.

[18] *Wace: The Roman de Rou*, ed. A. J. Holden, tr. G. S. Burgess (St. Helier, 2002), iii ll. 8329-8705. See also E. M. C. Van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics – the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 109-114.

[19] See Introduction pp. 2-4 for references.

During his time as lord of the Cotentin, prior to 1100, King Henry I attracted support from a number of Cotentin families, such as the Aubignys, Reviers, La Haye-du-Puits and the earls of Chester. After his accession as king of England, he rewarded them with new lands.[20] His butler, William d'Aubigny, was given the extensive honour of Old Buckenham in Norfolk where, in 1166, there were 75 knights enfeoffed.[21] William, his son and successor, made further gains during the reign of King Stephen when he married Queen Adeliza, widow of Henry I. He was made an earl, and acquired in marriage the castle and honour of Arundel, that included 97 and a half knights' fees in 1166. As a consequence, the scale of the Aubigny English estates far exceeded their small Norman honour, and their main territorial concern was to retain possession of the Arundel honour, regarded by the crown as a royal escheat. After the death of Earl William I in 1177, the king resumed possession and the honour remained in royal custody until 1190, when William I's son, Earl William II, fined with King Richard for 2000 marks to recover custody.[22] The death of William II, in 1193, forced the family to negotiate with the king again to regain custody of Arundel, and Earl William III only recovered the town and honour in 1197-8, after payment of a further fine of 1000 marks.[23] Despite these uncertainties over the custody of Arundel, the close connection with the Plantagenets established during the civil war, when Earl William I became a loyal supporter of Empress Matilda, proved to be the dominating influence on the earls who remained loyal supporters of the king-dukes throughout the twelfth century.

Nigel d'Aubigny, the younger brother of William the butler, also profited from his support for Henry I, who established him as a leading cross-Channel baron. In Normandy, Nigel was granted the honour of Montbray, forfeited by Robert de Montbray after his rebellion against Rufus in 1095.[24] The estates comprised eleven knights' fees in 1172, and were located near the castle of Montbray, and to the east in the Orne valley. He also held fiefs of the count of Eu at Bazoches, and the abbot of

[20] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 163-4; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 127-8; Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 52-3, 57, 89, 115-6.
[21] *RB* i, pp. 200-2, 397-8. *CB* nos. XIII and CCXVI.
[22] See Howden, *Gesta* i p. 133 for the grant of his father's land and the earldom of Sussex to Earl William II in 1177. That year, the honour of Arundel was in royal custody and remained so until 1189 (*PR* 25 Hen, p. 38; *PR* 2 Ric I p. 130).
[23] *PR* 10 Ric I pp. 93 and 227.
[24] *Mowbray* pp. xviii- xxi; Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 52-3, 57-8.

Saint-Evroult at Rabodanges.[25] Nigel acquired extensive English lands, including the vast lordship of Kirkby Malzeard in Yorkshire, Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, the Isle of Axeholm in Lincolnshire, and other lands in Warwickshire and Lancashire. In 1166, his son Roger de Mowbray had more than 99 knights' fees on his estates in England.[26] Many of these lands had been held by the Estouteville family, in the late eleventh century, but were forfeited after the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106. By the second half of the twelfth century, the Estoutevilles (or Stutevilles as the English branch became known) had returned to England to rebuild their fortunes through service as royal officials in the north of England. They used their position of favour with Henry II to seek the recovery of their old English lands. Before 1170, Robert de Stuteville brought his claim before the royal court at Westminster, and Roger de Mowbray was forced to concede nine or ten fees. The Stutevilles continued to maintain their claims for the rest of the century. The case returned to the royal court in 1201, when the Mowbrays were forced to concede another tenancy of ten fees.[27] This uncertain tenure of his English estates was almost certainly a factor in Roger de Mowbray's participation in the rebellion of 1173-4, and the subsequent loss of his castles at Kinnard, Kirkby Malzeard and Thirsk.[28]

Despite the scale of their English lands, the Mowbrays continued to show a close interest in their lands across the Channel. In 1154, Roger de Mowbray recovered his Norman estates, lost during the civil war, paying 60 l. and one destrier to John count of Eu for the restoration of his fief at Bazoches-en-Houlme.[29] Before 1170, Roger established his eldest son, Nigel, as lord of the family lands in Normandy, possibly to allow Roger to concentrate on preserving his English interests. Nigel acquired additional Norman estates through his marriage to Mabel, the daughter of William Patric, lord of La Lande-Patry and a neighbour of the Montbray fief.[30] Between 1188

[25] See *Mowbray* nos. 162, 163, 165, 277; *RHF* xxiii pp. 619, 695; *RAH* nos. 60, 154; *CDF* nos. 595, 599, 627, 649; GC pp. 60, 73; *NP* p. 791; *Calvados*, p. 442.
[26] *Mowbray*, pp. xx-xxv; *RB* i, pp. 418-21; *CB* no. CCXXXV.
[27] *Mowbray*, p. xxviii, no. 386; *EYC* ix nos. 17, 41-44.
[28] *Mowbray, p. xxix-xxxi*; Howden, *Gesta* i p. 126; Strickland, *Young King*, pp. 149, 224.
[29] See *Mowbray* no. 19 for the restoration of Bazoches by the count of Eu, and Chapter 4 pp. 111-2 for evidence of the continued interest of the Mowbrays in their Norman lands, in the later twelfth century.
[30] *Mowbray* p. xxix and no. 269 for a charter of Mabel where she identifies herself as the daughter of William Patric, who was also one of the rebels of 1173-4, along with Roger and

and 1190, Nigel gave lands at Margueray (Manche, Percy) to the nearby hermitage of La Colombe with the consent of his wife, which suggests it was held as part of her dowry.[31] As lord of Montbray, Nigel submitted a return to the 1172 inquest into knight service in Normandy, and issued a number of charters concerning the family's Norman lands, such as those for Saint-André-en-Gouffern, awarding tithes on his Montbray estates, and for Villers Canivet, a house for nuns founded by his father Roger near the caput of his other Norman lordship.[32]

Nigel inherited all the Mowbray lordships on the death of his father Roger in Palestine in 1187. However, Nigel's early death, while on crusade in 1191, brought to an end the period of active involvement of the family in their Norman lands.[33] Nigel's eldest son, William, was still a minor, and the Mowbray lands in England and Normandy were held in royal-ducal custody until 1193. During this period, the family was able to protect the lands. Robert de Mowbray, Nigel's younger brother, acted for his nephew in court cases, and subsequently secured royal immunity from claims in the royal courts, while William was a hostage for the king in Germany.[34] In 1197, William's bailiffs were still citing his presence in Vienna as a reason why a suit brought against him should not proceed.[35] After his return, the main preoccupation of William concerning his barony was a fruitless attempt to protect his English estates against a further suit by the Stutevilles in the royal court, in the early reign of King John.[36]

The promotion of the earls of Chester by Henry I resulted in the creation of the most extensive barony in the Cotentin. The earls of Chester continued to be prominent cross-Channel barons throughout the twelfth century, with an intensive period

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Nigel de Mowbray (Howden, *Gesta* i p. 45). In 1190-1, RalphTaisson married the granddaughter of William Patric and acquired half the Patric lands (see p. 58 below).

[31] *Mowbray* no. 76.

[32] See *RHF* xxiii p. 695 for the Mowbray returns to the 1172 inquest and *Mowbray*, nos. 165 and 280.

[33] Howden, *Gesta* ii p.149.

[34] *Three Rolls of the King's Court in the Reign of King Richard the First,* ed. F. W. Maitland (PRS, 1891), no. 14, 8.

[35] *PR* 3 Ric I p. 148, *RCR* i p. 49. By the summer of 1197, William had been released as he was a witness to the agreement between King Richard and the count of Flanders at Andely, given in June or July of that year (*Itinerary*, p. 118). It is significant that the Stutevilles did not renew their pursuit of the Mowbray lands in the royal court until after the death of King Richard.

[36] See Chapter 8 pp. 205-6 for the case brought by William de Stuteville against William de Mowbray in the reign of King John.

between 1194 and 1204, when Earl Ranulf III was particularly active in western Normandy. The basis of this influence was created in 1120, when Richard earl of Chester died in the wreck of the White Ship. His cousin, Ranulf vicomte of the Bessin, succeeded and brought together two important cross-Channel lordships that established him as one of the richest and most powerful barons in both countries.[37] By the later twelfth century, the earl was probably the wealthiest lay baron in England. In 1186, scutage from the earldom was collected on 122 knights' fees in England but this did not take account of the earls' lands in his county of Cheshire or in Wales, amounting to a further 80 knights' fees in the scutage of 1252.[38] Most of the earls' estates in England were located in Cheshire and Lincolnshire, although they extended into many counties, including Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Berkshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Wiltshire.

The earls' Norman property was not on the same scale but still placed them in the front rank of the Norman aristocracy. The lands were grouped around two main centres at Briquessart in the Bessin, and Saint-Sever in the valley of the Vire. A few estates were located in the Avranchin.[39] More than 51 knights' fees were held in chief, but the earl also held a substantial fief of the bishop of Bayeux in the Bessin, with 14 and a half fees in 1133, and other mesne fiefs of the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel and the count of Mortain in the Avranchin.[40] The earls also held the hereditary vicomtés of the Bessin and the Avranchin, and the castelry of Saint-James-de-Beuvron.[41]

The career of Earl Ranulf II (died 1153) during the civil war in England is well known. He made a number of territorial acquisitions across many areas of the north and midlands, becoming an important power broker in the kingdom.[42] Less attention has been paid to his acquisitions in Normandy, but they suggest he pursued ambitions

[37] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 118, 162. Hollister, *Henry I,* pp. 59-60; Green, *Aristocracy*, p. 145.
[38] *LC* 6 Joh pp. 10, 11; *PR* 33 Hen II p. 28; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of Their Origin and Descent (1086-1327)* (Oxford, 1960), p. 28; J. W. Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester: A Relic of the Conquest* (Athens, 1983), pp. 106-7.
[39] *RHF* xxiii pp. 611,633, 636, 694, 707, 709; *RAH* nos. 28, 80, 154, 570, 601; *CDF* nos. 538, 635, 786, 797; *GC* Instrs. 70, 73; *CN* no. 536; *Regesta*, no. 180; *RJE* nos. 158, 232; *Calvados*, pp. 3, 4, 52, 76
[40] *RHF* xxiii p. 706.
[41] *MRSN* ii pp. lxxx, 531, 537.
[42] See, most recently, King, *King Stephen*, particularly pp. 146-53, 223-8, 259-61, 273-4, 334-5 for a summary of Earl Ranulf II's career.

to achieve a similar predominance in the Cotentin and western Normandy. A charter of Duke Henry issued in 1153, confirming the earl's lands in the region, lists a number of new acquisitions, including the castles and prévôtés of Vire and Barfleur, *Brullium*, *Alebec*, and the ducal demesne in the Avranchin, except what pertained to the bishopric of Avranches and the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel.[43] Many of Earl Ranulf II's acquisitions were recovered by King Henry II after the earl's death, but they probably served as a blueprint for the aspirations of his son Earl Hugh (died 1183), and his grandson Earl Ranulf III (died 1232). Earl Hugh failed to make any headway, opposing Henry II during the rebellion of 1173, and was imprisoned for a period.[44] Ranulf III ultimately proved more successful over the course of his long career, mainly by aligning himself closely with the fortunes of the Plantagenet dynasty, although on occasion he emulated the princely independence of his grandfather.

Ranulf III began his political career as an agent of Henry II who, in 1189, arranged Ranulf's marriage to Constance duchess of Brittany in order to retain control of the duchy after the death, in 1186, of the king's son Geoffrey, the first husband of Constance.[45] Ranulf's role in Breton politics is examined in more detail in a later chapter but, as Judith Everard has shown, there is no evidence that he developed any real influence in the duchy.[46] However, his involvement in the region, in support of King Richard, provided a spur to his ambitions in western Normandy over the next decade.[47] By the time of the accession of King John in 1199, Ranulf had established himself as the most powerful Plantagenet supporter in the region. He was granted the castle, prevoté and *baillia* of Vire, one of the former acquisitions of his grandfather. This further consolidated his power in the region where his own honour of Saint-Sever was located, and complemented his hereditary offices of vicomte of Avranches,

[43] *Regesta iii* no. 180. *Brullium* and *Alebec* have not been identified.
[44] Howden, *Gesta* i pp. 56-8. In 1180, the castelry of Vire was in the custody of William du Hommet (*NPR* Hen II p. 21).
[45] *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and Her Family, 1171-1221*, ed. J. Everard and M. Jones (Woodbridge, 1999), C20 and notes.
[46] J. A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins; Province and Empire 1158-1203* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 150 and 158. This conclusion is based on the almost complete absence of Ranulf from any documentary evidence relating to the duchy.
[47] See Chapter 7, pp. 189-92.

and castellan of Saint-James-de-Beuvron.[48] Further grants of Norman property followed. In September 1199, Semilly castle, near Saint-Lô, was delivered to the earl to hold at the king's pleasure and, in 1200, he paid 100 l. to the king to secure his claim to the honour of Croisilles and Saye against Peter de Sablé, lord of Gacé. [49] Ranulf further extended his lands in the region through an advantageous marriage, following the annulment, in 1199, of his first marriage to Constance of Brittany. Any connection with Constance was now politically dangerous as she was the mother of Arthur duke of Brittany, King John's nephew and the rival claimant to the Plantagenet inheritance.[50] In 1200, Ranulf married Clemencia, the daughter of Ralph de Fougères, a prominent Norman-Breton baron. After complicated and protracted negotiations over the marriage settlement, he acquired most of the Fougères estates in the valley of Mortain.[51]

Earl Ranulf's support for the Plantagenets also brought substantial rewards in England. In 1196, King Richard restored to him the manor of Great Tew (Oxfordshire), another acquisition made by his grandfather Ranulf II but resumed by Henry II in 1167.[52] In 1198, the king recognised another old, and even more valuable, claim to part of the barony of William de Roumare, who died that year. This was the honour of Bolingbroke, comprising 35 and a half knights' fees, with estates mainly in Lincolnshire. They were the lands of Lucy countess of Chester and mother of Ranulf II, but had originally passed to William de Roumare, Lucy's son by an earlier marriage. Although there is no extant royal charter confirming the grant, there are numerous charters of Earl Ranulf showing him in possession of the Roumare lands from 1198.[53] By the early 1200s, Ranulf had established himself as the wealthiest and probably most powerful cross-Channel baron of his day. His pre-eminent position in western Normandy made him indispensible to King John. His influence among his

[48] *MRSN* ii pp. 531, 536-7. See also V. Moss, 'Norman Exchequer Rolls of King John', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. Church (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 105-8.
[49] *LP* 1 Joh p. 29; *RN* 2 Joh p. 39 and Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 231, who notes that Ranulf's claim may have derived from his mother Bertrada de Montfort.
[50] See Chapter 8 p. 204 for the annulment of the marriage to Constance.
[51] *Chester* no. 318. See Chapter 4, p. 99 for the detailed arrangements made by William du Hommet, grandfather of Clemencia, to ensure the marriage took place.
[52] *Chester* no. 334.
[53] *Mon.* v p. 456, *Chester* nos. 278, 288. See *RB* i pp. 376-8, and *CB* no. CC for the *carta* of William de Roumare and the knights' fees held of his Bolingbroke barony.

peers, and particularly the baronage of the Cotentin and western Normandy, is explored in more detail in later chapters.[54]

In contrast to the three families already discussed, the Mohuns were already well established as substantial cross-Channel landholders before 1100, and the distribution and extent of their interests remained relatively stable throughout the twelfth century. William II de Mohun played an important role during the early years of the civil war in England, in support of the Empress Matilda, until he deserted her in 1144.[55] Thereafter, the family sank into relative obscurity although, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, they continued to maintain an active lordship over their large English honour of Dunster, and smaller Norman fief of Moyon.

The Paynel family lands underwent a number of significant changes in the course of the twelfth century. By the early 1100s, William Paynel was an important cross-Channel baron, with extensive lands in both England and Normandy, which he used to establish the priory of Drax in Yorkshire, between 1130-9, and the impressive abbey of Hambye, around 1145.[56] During the civil war, however, his cross-Channel honour was dismantled, following the death of William in 1146. Hugh and Fulk, the sons of William by his first marriage, supported the Angevins and probably remained in Normandy. King Stephen gave the extensive English estates of the family to his supporter Robert de Gant, who was married to Alice Paynel, daughter of William by his second marriage.[57] In 1153-4, Hugh and Fulk Paynel were seeking to recover their English lands with the support of Duke Henry, and a compromise was arranged whereby the Paynels were restored to their English lands, except for 15 knights' fees that remained with Robert de Gant.[58] Hugh and Fulk agreed to divide the lands remaining to them although, in contrast to earlier divisions of lands between heirs, this did not result in the separation of English and Norman estates. The brothers were each allocated lands on both sides of the Channel. Hugh acquired the barony of Market Rasen (Lincolnshire) and the old ancestral family lands of Les Moutiers-Hubert (south of Falaise), while Fulk received the lordship of Drax (Yorkshire) and

[54] See particularly Chapter 8, pp. 204, 208-10.
[55] King, *King Stephen*, pp. 160-1.
[56] *EYC* vi p. 5, nos. 13 and 15.
[57] For the Paynel genealogy see p. 249.
[58] See *EYC* vi, particularly pp. 7, 18, 33-4.

the Cotentin barony of Hambye.[59] The decision to establish both brothers as cross-Channel barons was undoubtedly prompted by the settlement of 1153, that would reunite Normandy and England under Henry II, and reflected the desire of a number of families to re-establish a cross-Channel presence after the disruption caused by the civil war. [60] This approach to the distribution of family assets, ensuring that family members were endowed with estates in both countries, became increasingly common in the later twelfth century, and perhaps reflected the continuing importance for many families of the connection between Normandy and England.

While Fulk I Paynel inherited a diminished cross-Channel barony, compared with his father, he was relatively successful in advancing the family interests on both sides of the Channel, until his death in 1182-3. In part, this was achieved through loyal service to Henry II in Normandy, where he was a frequent witness to royal charters, remained loyal during the rebellion of the Young King, and had custody of the important ducal castles of Alençon and La Roche-Mabile. [61] The king granted him certain rights in the *baillia* of Mortain and, in 1178-9, he was given land at Barton in Yorkshire previously held by a collateral branch of the family. As in the case of other cross-Channel families, Fulk also extended his interests in both Normandy and England through marriage. His wife Lesceline was the daughter of Hasculf de Subligny, a minor Avranchin baron. A charter for the abbey of Hambye suggests her dowry included lands in both Normandy and England.[62] The marriage probably gave Fulk his first holdings in the Avranchin, further augmented by lands acquired from William Avenel, lord of Les Biards and seneschal of Mortain. A later charter of William's son Roland records the grants made by his father to Fulk Paynel of land at Costenville,

[59] *RHF* xxiii p. 694. In the 1220 survey, it is recorded that the King did not know what services were owed from Fulk Paynel's fiefs at Bréhal and Hambye (*RHF* xxiii p. 610).
[60] See Bates, *Normans and Empire*, pp. 111-4 for examples of other families who, as the civil war drew to a close in 1153, clearly had faith in the future of the cross-Channel connection and sought to re-establish a cross-Channel presence.
[61] See *RAH* no. 256 for a charter of Henry II witnessed by Fulk Paynel while with the army in Brittany in 1156, and *NPR* Hen II pp. 8 and13 for references to Fulk as castellan of Alençon and La Roche-Mabile.
[62] *PR* 24 Hen II p. 72; *RPA* xxiii pp. 703 and 709. The places referenced in the charter of Lesceline (*CDF* no. 915; CBN ii p. 48), at Ronthon, Subligny, Grippon and a number of other unidentified locations, are mainly in the Avranchin. She also referenced the churches of her lands in England.

and other unidentified locations.[63] In 1177, Fulk I's eldest son William married Eleanor, the sister of Andrew de Vitry, an important Breton lord who held lands in Normandy. William received half the Norman lands of Andrew, including manors in the Bessin at Ryes, Trungy, Ducy and Saint-Marguerite.[64] By the time of his death, Fulk I was established as one of the leading lords in the southern Cotentin and Avranchin.

The successors of Fulk I – his sons William (died 1184) and Fulk II (died before 1230) - continued to develop their cross-Channel interests through marriage to other important Cotentin families. The first wife of Fulk II was Cecily, daughter of Jordan Taisson, and his second wife, who he married in 1187 or later, was Agatha, daughter of William du Hommet constable of Normandy. The latter marriage brought additional lands at Duddington (Northamptonshire) and Lingreville (Manche), both held of the fief of William du Hommet.[65] While the gains made by the Paynels were not extensive, the division of family lands in mid-century, and provisions of the various marriage agreements, demonstrated the interest of the family in ensuring their successors retained landholdings on both sides of the Channel.

The Taisson family acquired few English lands following the Conquest, holding just three estates of the honour of Tickhill, at Rampton and Wheatley in Nottinghamshire, and Laughton in Lincolnshire. They were valued at £30 a year when they were seized by the king in 1204.[66] Hence, their interests remained mainly Norman for much of the twelfth century. Jordan Taisson (died c. 1179) extended his Cotentin interests through marriage to Leticie, the heiress to the barony of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. This fief comprised fifteen fees in 1172, and with his existing lands, probably made Jordan the largest landholder in the northern Cotentin.[67] Like many of the Cotentin barons, the Taissons were active supporters of the Plantagenet dukes. Under Henry II, Jordan

[63] BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 nos. 28 and 33 and 'extraits des archives du Chateau de Hambie' no. 3. The unidentified locations are *Cherneio*, *Descrito* and *Servigneio*. See also Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 60 for the importance of William Avenal in the south-western marches of Normandy.
[64] *NPR* Hen II p. 13; *CDF* no. 1458.
[65] *EYC* vi p. 27; *RHF* xxiii p. 610. See also Chapter 4, pp. 103-4 for the relationship of Fulk Paynel with other baronial families of the Cotentin.
[66] *LP* 4 Joh p. 24, *LC* 6 Joh p. 9; *LF* i pp. 32, 33, 149, 230, 618.
[67] *Saint-Sauveur*, nos. 49, 58; Paris, BnF, ms. lat.10087, no. 447. RHF xxiii p. 706.

Taisson was often present at the court or in the ducal army, and sided with the king during the rebellion of 1173-4.[68] His son Ralph continued to play a prominent role at court, acted as a justice in the Norman Exchequer, and was a prominent crusader with King Richard.[69] This close alignment with the Plantagenets enabled Ralph to extend his English interests in the late twelfth century. Ralph married Matilda, one of two daughters and heiresses of Engelran Patric and, as a result, acquired substantial lands in England for the first time. On the death of Engelran in 1190-1, Ralph and Matilida inherited half his English honour of Patricksbourne in Kent, comprising seven and a half knights' fees, an estate at Down Ampney in Gloucestershire, and a share of his small Norman fief of La Lande-Patry in central Normandy, which probably amounted to one and a half fees.[70] The Patric family held lands at Montfiquet, of Ralph's Cotentin honour of Percy, and hence Ralph may have sensed an opportunity to acquire valuable English lands through the marriage.[71] However, Henry II may also have had a hand in ensuring the Patric heiresses were given in marriage to two of his loyal followers, as Matilda's sister and co-heiress married John de Préaux, another royal servant.

Ralph Taisson's career continued to prosper under King John, by whom he was made seneschal of Normandy in November 1201, and he acquired new interests on both sides of the Channel. In Normandy, in December 1202, he was given custody of the important castle of Pontorson on the frontier with Brittany and, in March 1203, the castle and bailliwick of Torigny.[72] In England, the king granted him quittance of all

[68] For the presence of the Taissons at important gatherings of the ducal court under Henry II see *CDF* no. 432; *RAH* nos. 466, 638, 647; *Charters and Custumals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen. Part 2. The French Estates*, ed. J. Walmsley (Oxford, 1994), no. 1. For the presence of Jordan Taisson in the ducal army at Breteuil during the rebellion of 1173 see Howden, *Gesta* i p. 52.

[69] GC Instr. 252; *IP* pp. 207, 376; *Saint-Sauveur* no. 59.

[70] *PR* 3 Ric. I p. 143; *LF* i pp. 51, 270; *RN* p. 140; *LP* 3 Joh p. 2, 4 Joh. p. 43; *LC* 6 Joh. pp. 6, 7 Joh. pp. 35, 37. In 1166, the heirs of Engelran Patric held the fees of fifteen knights in Kent (*RB* i p. 197, *CB* no. A/8). In 1172, there were three knights' fees on the Patric lands in Normandy (*RPA* p. 270). A charter of Matilda, given in 1214, confirms her father's gift of land at Mesnil-Patry to the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Fontenay, indicating that Ralph also acquired a share of the Patric's Norman lands in right of his wife (*Calvados,* Fontenay no. 28).

[71] The Patric family held one knight's fee of the honour of Percy at Montfiquet (Manche, Percy) (*RHF* xxiii p. 610).

[72] See *LP* 3 Joh pp. 2, 3 for his appointment as seneschal and the grant of quittance from the dues on his English lands, and *LP* 4 Joh pp. 22 and 26 for the grants of custody of Pontorson and Torigny.

dues at the shire and hundred courts and, in December 1203, Ralph secured custody of the land and heir of Henry de Tilly, head of a family from the Bessin closely associated with the Taissons.[73] The Norman lands, including the castle of Tilly-sur-Seules, were relatively minor but the family held valuable lands in Devon comprising more than thirteen knights' fees.[74]

For many Normans looking to extend their interests in England, the value of the lands may have been an important factor. In the previous chapter, the considerable revenues obtained from the Tancarville lands in England have already been described. Similarly, Ralph Taisson may have been induced to acquire lands in England for the additional revenues they would bring. Surveys, from the early thirteenth century, suggest his wife's English lands, together with his Tickhill fee, produced an annual revenue well in excess of £100 a year, while his custody of the Tilly estates in Devon would have yielded a substantial income.[75] Like the Tancarvilles, Ralph used his English revenues to discharge his debts at the Norman Exchequer. In 1198, he deposited £24 at the Exchequer in England to be credited against his debts in Normandy.[76] Clearly, barons would be reluctant to lose such valuable assets.

While the Bohon family acquired English lands after the Conquest, they were one of the few Cotentin families who divided their lands between English and Norman branches in the late eleventh century. As was common in these cases, both branches continued to hold minor estates on the other side of the Channel, and so the Norman family retained estates at Barford (Oxfordshire) and Dudsbury (Dorset).[77] Like many Cotentin families in the twelfth century, the Bohons continued to be active in ducal service. Alexander de Bohon held the position of seneschal to Duke Henry. His younger brother Enjuger was *bailli* in the Bessin in 1151-2, and their nephew Richard

[73] *RN* 5 Joh p.117, *PR* 6 Joh, pp. 88-9. See Chapter 4, pp. 100-1 for Ralph's association with Henry de Tilly.
[74] *Bricquebec* no. 5; *RPA* p. 275; *CB* no. XXXIII.
[75] *LC* 6 Joh p. 6; *LF* i p. 270.
[76] *NPR* Ric I p. 169.
[77] *LF* i p. 104. See J. Le Melletier, *Les Seigneurs de Bohon* (Carentan, 1978) for the early history of the Bohon/Bohun family.

was elected bishop of Coutances in the same year.[78] They were closely associated with other loyalist families of the Cotentin, such as the Aubignys, Reviers and Le Hommets. It was through these connections that the Bohons acquired a more valuable cross-Channel interest. Initially, they may have acquired an estate at Heasley on the Isle of Wight through the patronage of the Reviers family. Later, their association with the Aubigny earls of Arundel led to the marriage of Enjuger's sister Muriel with Savaric fitz Cane, lord of Midhurst, a small barony held of the earl of Arundel, comprising three knights' fees and lands in Sussex and Hampshire. [79] The fitz Canes were probably established on the Arundel honour by Qeen Adeliza, wife of William I earl of Arundel. After the death of Enjuger I in the 1170s, the descendants of Muriel and Savaric became heirs to both the Midhurst and the Norman Bohon lands, thus creating a modest cross-Channel barony. The subsequent descent of the lands is obscure but, by 1189, Franco de Bohon, who is referenced in a charter of Enjuger as his nephew, was the heir to Midhurst and the Bohon inheritance.[80] He had difficulty in securing the lands. In a charter of 1189, King Richard granted the lands to Franco but referred to a previous challenge to his inheritance in the court of Henry II by Ralph of Arden, son-in-law of Ranulf de Glanville, when Franco failed to secure possession on account of the king's anger against him.[81] The basis of Ralph's challenge is not clear but the disgrace of Ranulf de Glanville, after King Richard's accession in 1189, enabled Franco to renew his claim and secure his lands.

Franco died in 1195, leaving his widow Rohais, and young son and heir Enjuger II. His lands in England and Normandy were taken into royal custody.[82] The minority of Enjuger proved to be a challenging time but his mother went to great lengths to preserve his cross-Channel inheritance. Soon after the death of her husband, Rohais de Bohun gave the king 300 marks to have custody of her son and possession of his

[78] 'Recueil des actes des Évêques de Bayeux', ed. H. Dupuy, *Annales de Normandie* xx (1970), no. 24; *LCH* nos. 409, 702, 1003, 2412; CBN PRO B ii p. 26; *CDF* no. 968; *ISADM* H 121; *Calvados,* Le Plessis no. 1363; *CDF* no. 1219. For the Bohon genealogy see p. 246.
[79] C. T. Clay, *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families* (Leeds, 1975); *RB* i p. 200; *CB* no. XIII [17]; *PR* Ric I p. 230; *LCH* no. 1003, *LCR* no. 2219R; ' The Durford Cartulary', ed. J. H. Stevenson, *Sussex Record Society* vol. 90 (2006), no. 45. See also Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Anglo-Normande et 1204', pp. 182-3.
[80] Coll. Mancel v no. 2417.
[81] *LCR* no. 2219R. Stapleton suggested that Ralph's challenge was based on the alleged illegitimacy of Franco or one of his predecessors, as there is a reference to the case being heard in the ecclesiastical courts *(MRSN* ii pp. xxxiv-v).
[82] See *PR* 6 Ric I p. 8 for the lands in royal custody.

lands in Normandy.[83] When Ralph of Arden again raised his claim to their lands, in the court of the Exchequer at Caen in 1198, Rohais made a further proffer of 200 marks to have justice for her son. The case was still being heard in the ducal court in April 1199.[84] A compromise agreement was eventually reached whereby Enjuger was confirmed in possession of the Norman lands of Enjuger I de Bohon and the honour of Midhurst, but had to conceed possession of three manors in Sussex.[85] Hence, the descendants of the old Norman Bohon family were firmly established as cross-Channel landholders. Although Enjuger subsequently lost his Norman lands in 1204, he was clearly interested in their recovery and secured compensation from King John of lands in Guernsey, until the king was able to restore Enjuger to his lands in the Cotentin.[86]

The Le Hommet constables of Normandy was another Cotentin family that began initially with few English lands but subsequently developed more extensive cross-Channel interests in the later twelfth century, primarily through loyal service to the Plantagenets and advantageous marriages to other Cotentin families.[87] Richard du Hommet (died 1179), constable of Normandy under Henry II, was the architect of the family fortunes. His marriage to Agnes, daughter and heiress of Jordan de Say, brought him the valuable Cotentin honour of Remilly, and lands in Kirtlington (Oxfordshire).[88] Richard's close association with Henry II also resulted in a number of grants from the royal demesne and escheats on both sides of the Channel. In Normandy, Richard was granted lands in the Giffard fief at Auppegard and Maisy, and, in England, the manors of Stamford (Lincolnshire), Dudington (Northamptonshire), and other lands in the Giffard fief. These grants in England were particularly valuable, worth £125 a year, and represented a significant expansion of the Le Hommet interests across the Channel.[89]

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[83] *NPR* Ric I p. 119.
[84] *NPR* Ric I p. 141; *HGM* ii ll. 11796-9; *Itinerary* p. 145.
[85] *Curia Regis Rolls….preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. C. T. Flower (London, 1922-) vi pp. 397-9; *RC* 7 Joh p. 161.
[86] *RC* 14 Joh p. 192.
[87] Richard inherited English estates from his father in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Sussex (Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', p. 262).
[88] Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', p. 263. For the Le Hommet genealogy see p. 248.
[89] For the grant of Auppegard and Maisy see *LCH* no. 1330; *NPR* Hen II pp. 5, 43, 95. For the grants of Henry II in England see *PR* 2 Hen II pp. 24, 41; *PR* 2 Hen II pp. 24, 41.

Richard's son, and successor as constable, William du Hommet (died 1204) expanded the Norman interests of the family through the marriage of his eldest son Richard to Gila, daughter and co-heiress of Richard de la Haye, lord of La Haye-du-Puits.[90] After the death of the latter in 1169, his lands were divided with his English lands going to his daughter Nichola, wife of Gerard de Canville, and the Norman lands to Gila and Richard, extending the Le Hommet interests into the central and western Cotentin. By the later twelfth century, the Le Hommets had built a sizeable lordship of 22 knights' fees.[91] Like his father, William du Hommet continued to play an important role in the ducal administration of Normandy under King Richard and King John, holding the farms of the vicomté of the Cotentin, Cherbourg and Valognes, and the prevoté of Vire during the early 1190s, and acting as agent of King John in a range of military, administrative and diplomatic functions until 1203.[92] He continued to benefit from royal patronage and extended his interests in both countries. In June 1190, King Richard allowed William's son Richard to recover two ducal estates at Pouppeville and Varreville (Manche) worth 400 l. (£100).[93] In 1200-1, William fined with King John for 1000 marks for the wardship and custody of the English lands of his grandson Baldwin Wac. These comprised ten and one eighth knight's fees, and other mesne tenancies mainly located in Lincolnshire, close to William's own property at Stamford.[94] By the early reign of King John, the Le Hommets were a true cross-Channel family, having consolidated their extensive lands in the Cotentin and acquired valuable interests in England.

As discussed above, most of the Cotentin baronial families acquired valuable interests in England before 1204. Only two families, the Bertrans and Vernons, failed to do so. The Bertrans are perhaps the most obscure of the Cotentin families and, despite their extensive Norman landholding, left little evidence of any involvement in politics in the duchy. In the mid-twelfth century, they acquired minor estates in England through the marriage of Robert III (died 1174) to Adeliza, daughter of William Count of Aumale, whose dowry included estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Hampshire.

[90] Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', pp. 263 and 269.
[91] *RHF* xxiii p. 609.
[92] *NPR* Ric I pp. 118, 119. For William's important role in the ducal administration of King Richard and King John see Chapter 7, p. 180 and Chapter 8, p. 210.
[93] *CN* nos. 22, 417; *CDF* no. 535.
[94] *PR* 3 Joh, pp. 22, 23; *RB* ii pp. 378-80; *CB* no. CCII.

The lands were relatively valuable, yielding more than £60 a year in the early thirteenth century, and held of the count of Aumale, who recovered possession of most of them after 1204.[95] However, the Bertrans remained a family of exclusively Norman orientation and chose to remain there after 1204. The death of Robert IV in 1202, leaving a young son and heir, Robert V, caused complications for the family during this critical period. In October, King John gave custody of Robert's lands and children to Robert de Thibouville for a large fine of 6000 l. (£1500). After the conquest of Normandy in 1204, King Philip annexed the Bertran lands to the royal demesne, presumably because Robert de Thibouville still had custody of the heir on behalf of King John. By 1205, Robert V may have returned to Normandy as his English lands were seized by King John, and his Norman lands were later restored to him by King Philip.[96]

Similarly, the Vernon family in this period remained mainly focused on their Norman interests, after the family lands were divided between Norman and English branches in the early twelfth century. As a prominent supporter of Henry I, Richard I de Reviers established an important but short-lived cross-Channel barony. He acquired the English honours of Christchurch, Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, and Plympton in Devon, to complement his important Norman lordships of Néhou and Vernon.[97] However, after the death of Richard in 1107, his lands were divided between his sons with Baldwin, the eldest, receiving nearly all the English estates, and his younger brother William, who took the surname Vernon, most of the Norman estates.[98] Both retained minor estates on the other side of the Channel held as tenants of the other brother. Baldwin continued to hold lands in the Cotentin, and William held the manor of Freshwater on the Isle of Wight. In the 1140s, a charter of William Avenel, giving lands at Brucheville (Manche) to Montebourg Abbey, was confirmed by his lord Baldwin de Reviers earl of Devon, and William de Vernon.[99] These tenurial

[95] For the Bertran lands in England see *LC* 6 Joh. pp. 9, 19, 24; *LF* i pp. 224, 280, 389. They were located at Frettenham, Colishall and Belaugh (Norfolk), Clapton (Suffolk), *Barde* and *Borleg* (Essex) and Polhampton (Hampshire).
[96] *LP* 4 Joh p. 19, *CAP* no. 887, *LC* 6 Joh p. 19, *RJE* no.13.
[97] *Redvers* pp. 2-3.
[98] For the Reviers-Vernon genealogy see p. 250.
[99] See *Redvers* p. 17 and charters nos. 121-5 for evidence of the Norman branch continuing to hold Freshwater of the Reviers family into the late twelfth century, and App II no 6 for the charter of William Avenal.

connections may have contributed to the maintenance of links between the two branches, which continued beyond 1204.

After the division of the family lands, William de Vernon held the two honours of Néhou in the Cotentin, and Vernon on the Seine, near the frontier with the lands of the king of France. The evidence suggests that Vernon may have been the more valuable of the two. It was an important river port, and the lords of Vernon were able to extract valuable revenues from tolls and other dues on river traffic, and from the vineyards and wine trade of the region.[100] When King Philip Augustus acquired the lordship of Vernon, in the peace agreement of Louviers of 1196, he provided Richard de Vernon with compensation in lands in the Ile-de-France worth 800 *livres parisis*, equivalent to approximately 1176 *livres angevins* (or £294 sterling). In comparison, the lands of Néhou yielded around 460 *livres angevins* (£115) when they were in royal custody in 1195.[101] The fate of the frontier lordship of Vernon proved to be an important influence on the activities of the family in the later twelfth century.

The Vernons remained loyal to the Plantagenets until the 1190s, when the growing power exerted by King Philip in the Vexin region undermined their allegiance. In 1193, the rapid surrender of Vernon to Philip aroused suspicions of complicity with the French King, and led to the confiscation by King Richard of the Vernon lands in the Cotentin and the English estate at Freshwater.[102] While the peace agreement between the two kings, in early 1196, saw Richard restored to his Norman lands of Néhou, the grant by King Philip of valuable lands in the Ile de France, in compensation for his lost castelry of Vernon, only accentuated the conflict of loyalties facing the Vernons. Richard's son, Richard II de Vernon who succeeded his father after 1196, was among those barons who deserted King John in the course of 1203.[103] However, despite this concentration on their Norman interests it appears the Vernons valued their English interests and connections. As will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter the family maintained a connection with the English branch of the family

[100] See, for example, *Saint-Wandrille* no. 113, *Jumiéges* no. 114, *Vaux de Cernai* no. 76; BnF ms. lat. 12884, fo. 189.
[101] *CDF* no.1293, *NPR* Ric I p. 15-16.
[102] Freshwater was in royal custody in 1193-4 (*PR* 6 Ric I, p. 6), and the honour of Néhou in 1194-5 (*NPR* Ric I pp. 15-16). See also Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 419-21.
[103] Richard deserted King John by August 1203, when his lands were seized because he was with the king's enemies (*RN* 5 Joh p. 101).

throughout the twelfth century and, after 1204, Richard's sister Margaret was able to recover possession of her family's English estate on the Isle of Wight.[104]

In addition to the cross-Channel landholding of the main baronial families of the Cotentin, many of the minor baronial families also held lands in England. Various of these barons were prominent in the politics of this period, either as ducal officials or close associates of the major barons, and hence further strengthened cross-Channel influence in the region.[105] For example, Robert de Tresgoz, who served as a ducal official after 1189, held a small fief in the northern Cotentin owing the service of one and a half knights in 1172, and lands in Wiltshire, Herefordshire, and the honour of Arundel in Sussex.[106] The Wac family held one fee in the northern Cotentin at Negreville, and in Guernsey, and half a fee in the Bessin. Their English honour of Burwell was larger, comprising more than ten fees in 1166.[107] The La Haye lords of Le Plessis had six and a half knights in their service on their Norman lands, which were close to those of the Le Hommet family.[108] In 1166, they held a knights' fee in England of the fief of Walter Aincourt. In Normandy, the Coulonces family held a knights' fee in the castelry of Vire, and another of the honour of Sainte-Scholasse. In England, they held an estate in Essex and, after 1196, were granted land at Great Tew (Oxfordshire) by Ranulf earl of Chester.[109] Consequently, in the late twelfth century, many baronial families of the Cotentin had a stake in England and the cross-Channel connection.

As in the Pays de Caux, the history of the landholding of the baronial families of the Cotentin demonstrates that there was no decline in the cross-Channel interests of this important section of the baronage. By the end of the twelfth century, cross-Channel landholding was more extensive at all levels of baronial society, with more families

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[104] *Redvers* p. 17 and charter nos. 121, 122, 123, and 125.
[105] See Chapter 4 for the close associations of many of these individuals with the major baronial families.
[106] *RPA* p. 271; *LF* i pp. 66, 275. In 1194, Robert de Tresgoz was pardoned his scutage owed for his fees held of the honour of Arundel because he was serving with the king in Normandy (*PR* 6 Ric I p. 9).
[107] *RHF* xxiii pp. 608, 612, 633. *NPR* Ric I p. 203; *RB* i pp. 378-80; *CB* no. CCII.
[108] *RPA* p. 270; *RHF* xxiii pp. 608, 610, 611. For the English lands, see *RB* i p. 380; *CB* no. CCIII. The Le Hommets had inherited the Norman honour of La Haye-du-Puits, the lands of the main La Haye family.
[109] *RPA* p. 273; *RHF* xxiii pp. 611; *RN* 6 Joh p. 129; *LF* i p. 615; *Chester* no. 337.

holding substantial lands in both countries than at the start of the century. Fewer barons of the Cotentin participated in the initial Norman settlement of England after the Conquest, and consequently, by 1100, only three families, the earl of Chester, the Mohuns and Paynels, could be classed as cross-Channel landholders. By the end of the century, eight out of ten of the main baronial families, and a number of minor families, held important assets in both countries. Only the Vernons and Bertrans failed to develop any significant interests across the Channel.

In both regions of Normandy examined in this study, the most important factor promoting this expansion was the close association of many families with the ruling ducal-royal family and the consequent rewards this brought. During the twelfth century, a number of Cotentin families were able to establish themselves on both sides of the Channel through royal patronage. Under Henry I, the Aubigny earls of Arundel, the Mowbrays, and the Reviers-Vernon family were established as major landowners in England, while the earl of Chester emerged as one of the leading cross-Channel barons. Later, under Henry II, the Le Hommet family was promoted through royal patronage to become an important cross-Channel landholder. During the final decades of the twelfth century, a number of these families were able to consolidate and further expand their cross-Channel interests through service and support for the Plantagenets. Ranulf III earl of Chester, in particular, made significant advances after 1194, acquiring extensive lands and offices in both countries.

The formation of alliances with other baronial families through marriage was another important factor in the expansion of cross-Channel interests in the Cotentin. As will be demonstrated in a later chapter, the alliances and connections between many of the families in this region were particularly deep and extensive. In the late twelfth century, a number of these marriage alliances resulted in the acquisition of new or more extensive interests on both sides the Channel, as families sourced their marriage portions from both Norman and English assets, further reflecting the extensive interest in cross-Channel landholding within this community. The Le Hommet, Taisson, Paynel, Chester, Mowbray and Bohon families all extended their cross-Channel interests through marriages with, or arranged by neighbours in Normandy.

A few families failed to expand their cross-Channel interests in the later decades of the twelfth century. The earls of Arundel, the Mohuns, Bertrans and Vernons did little to acquire new lands in either country. Also, the fact that in many families the distribution of lands between Normandy and England was uneven, with all holding substantially more lands in one country than the other, is often cited as a reason for presuming that most barons had little to lose from the separation of Normandy and England. Clearly, when faced with a choice of whether to remain in Normandy or England after 1204, such considerations would weigh heavily. However, such an imbalance of interests between the two countries might not necessarily undermine a family's commitment and support for the Anglo-Norman realm. While their lands were not as extensive in one country, compared with the other, they still yielded valuable revenues. Also, the lands were often old ancestral estates to which families remained attached, an aspect that is explored in more detail in Part II. The evidence relating to the landholding of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin shows that most were keen to maintain and extend their lands in both countries in the final decades of the twelfth century. In both regions, loyal service to the Anglo-Norman rulers and cross-Channel landholding were closely linked and deeply embedded within the baronial communities. Rather than being weakened since the Conquest, the evidence demonstrates that such characteristics had been extended and strengthened by the end of the twelfth century.

Part II

Cross-Channel Connections and Identity in the late Twelfth Century

CHAPTER 3

Baronial Connections and Identity in the Pays de Caux

While the evidence from the Pays de Caux and Cotentin shows that the extent of cross-Channel landholding steadily increased in the course of the twelfth century, it does not necessarily follow that this created an increased commitment within those societies to supporting the political connection between England and Normandy. The strength of this support was also highly dependant on the degree to which the barons identified with particular localities and communities where they held lands, and built influence within aristocratic society on both sides of the Channel. For in both regions, the barons were the only individuals possessing any significant interest in England, and only they had the wealth and territorial reach to develop social connections and the consequent networks of power on both sides of the Channel.

For those barons who established themselves in England immediately after the Norman conquest, their connections with Normandy were undoubtedly strong. They had still not developed deep roots in the land and society of their new home, and maintained strong connections with their Norman estates and the communities associated with them. Much of the modern historiography of the development of the cross-Channel aristocracy, during the course of the twelfth century, proposes that many of the barons who acquired significant interests in England became more detached from Normandy and their connections there diminished, while those whose main lands were in the duchy cared little about the connection with England.[1] In this and the following chapter I will challenge the current state of scholarship by examining the cross-Channel connections of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin during the final years of the Anglo-Norman realm, and show that many families retained a strong attachment to their interests and connections on both sides of the Channel.

[1] See Introduction, pp. 4-7 for a discussion of earlier scholarship on the cross-Channel connections of the aristocracy.

The evidence for family attachments and identity

In the absence of any direct testimony from individual barons, such as personal memoirs or letters, understanding their sense of attachment to people, places and communities in Normandy and England can only be determined using indirect indicators in the surviving evidence. For example, the importance attached by families to their lignage as cross-Channel barons can sometimes be discerned in how they distributed family assets among their descendants, particularly where lands were divided between multiple heirs and heiresses, or in the provision of appanages for younger sons and the dowries of their daughters. In the first generation after the conquest of England, many families divided their Norman and English lands between different branches of the family but, in the later twelfth century, their strategies changed and it will be demonstrated below that many families were concerned to ensure their descendants maintained a stake in both countries.

Baronial families were often the principal benefactors of local priories and abbeys, and where they directed their patronage revealed places of particular significance, perhaps reflecting long cherished ancestral ties, or where close relatives were buried. The extent to which baronial families continued to support religious institutions on both sides of the Channel provides a further measure of their identification with, and attachment to, particular localities in Normandy and England. Similarly, their relationship with members of the local lay aristocracy can reveal those regions and communities that were most important to barons, and where they were most interested in building political influence. In order to project power in a region, barons needed to attract support from a wide group of followers and friends, usually drawn from the knightly families, local officials and leading representatives of the church. Many of these individuals might be drawn from the tenants on their estates but, equally, they could be drawn from the wider knightly community, including the tenants of other lords, and ducal or royal officials.[2] The places and regions from where barons drew

[2] See D. Crouch, 'From Stenton to McFarlane: Models of Societies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *TRHS*, 6th Series, 5 (1995), pp. 179-200, and various rejoinders from David Carpenter, particularly 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), pp. 30-71 for discussion of how local aristocratic society operated in this period. See also Crouch, *William Marshal,* pp. 143-50; Power, *Norman Frontier,* pp. 266-298, and R.

their followers and associates probably reveal where they spent much of their time and directed their interest.

Other social indicators of baronial identity and attachment can be found in their relationships with relatives and peers. Many families in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin had extended family members in both Normandy and England, and the extent to which they maintained contact with these relatives, and drew on their support, provides insight into their cross-Channel connections and interests. Similarly, their connections and alliances within wider baronial society, often revealed through marriage alliances, witnessing of charters, and finding of pledges, illustrates the extent to which barons formed relationships with other families and were comfortable moving within baronial society on both sides of the Channel.

Many of these indicators of baronial sentiment, attachment and identity were most visible when their interests and connections were at risk. Between 1189 and 1204, the growing threat to their cross-Channel interests, and the eventual political separation of Normandy and England, induced many families to draw on the support of their connections on the other side of the Channel, or revealed their strong desire not to lose their lands. Hence, we are fortunate in this period that the importance of their connections, and attachment to family interests on both sides of the Channel are exposed more clearly in the surviving evidence than at any other time.

Cross-Channel influence and connections before 1189

Prior to 1189, much of the evidence from the Pays de Caux appears to confirm the view that the cross-Channel activity of the great baronial families in the region had declined. Firstly, the influence of one of the most important of these families was removed by the death of Walter Giffard III in 1164. He left no direct heirs and the barony remained in royal custody until 1189.[3] Similarly, the influence of the Warenne family in the eastern Pays de Caux was disrupted by the extinction of the male line on

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Mortimer, 'Land and Service: the Tenants of the Honour of Clare', *ANS* 8 (1985), pp. 177-98 for specific examples relating to particular families and regions.

[3] See Chapter 1, p. 36 for the extinction of the Giffard family in 1164.

the death of Earl William III in 1147.[4] His daughter and heiress Isabella married firstly William, the younger son of King Stephen, and, after his death, Hamelin, half brother of King Henry II, in 1164. While Earl William IV had extensive contact with his tenants and others in the Pays de Caux, during the short period he held his Norman estates (1153-9), this did not continue under Earl Hamelin (1164-1202).[5] From the charters of Hamelin and Isabella, it is difficult to identify any close associates and regular members of their retinue drawn from their Norman estates. The only Norman tenants found in the earl's company were William de Bellencombre, who held a knight's fee of the Mortemer honour at Sainte-Beuve-en-Rivière, and witnessed three charters of Hamelin for both English and Norman recipients, and Ralph de Quesnay who also witnessed various of Hamelin's charters and was probably a tenant of the Mortemer honour in the late twelfth century.[6] There are only two surviving charters of Hamelin for Norman recipients, both confirmatory acts for the abbey of Saint-Victor-en-Caux, and none given by Countess Isabella.[7]

In contrast, there is abundant evidence of their active relationships with English tenants and churches. Thomas of Horbury, the earl's seneschal in Yorkshire regularly witnessed Hamelin's charters and received gifts of land in the county.[8] William Livet, another official from the earl's Yorkshire estates, appeared as a seneschal under Hamelin and witnessed many of his charters.[9] Henry Picot, constable of Conisborough, a favoured residence of the earl, witnessed a number of his charters before his death on the third crusade.[10] The Pierrepont and Plaiz families were the earl's most prominent tenants in his Sussex honour, and witnessed many charters.[11] Clearly, their more extensive lands in England encouraged the Warennes to devote

[4] See Chapter 1, pp. 34-5 for the descent of the Warenne lands in the twelfth century.
[5] See, for example, Saint-Victor pp 378-9; *Longueville* no. 9 for evidence of Earl William IV's activities in the region.
[6] *RPA* p. 288-9; *EYC* viii p. 54; *Lewes* p. 66; Saint-Victor pp. 388–9. For the Quesnay family as Pay de Caux landholders, see Saint-Victor pp. 370- 8, recording a gift of the church and tithes at Dancourt (S-M, Blangy-sur-Bresle) to the abbey of Saint-Victor.
[7] Saint-Victor pp. 385-7, 388–9; *EYC* viii nos. 67, 68.
[8] See particularly *EYC* viii nos. 75, 89, 90, and p. 243 for notes on the Horbury family as officials of the earls.
[9] *EYC* viii nos. 69, 75, 76, 89, 90 and p. 243.
[10] *EYC* viii nos. 71, 72, 73, London, BL Harley MS 2110 fo. 6; Howden, *Gesta* iii p. 212.
[11] *EYC* viii 52, 54, 67, 68, 71, 77, 79, 81, 86; London, BL Harley MS 2110 fo. 6; *Lewes* ii pp. 27, 50, 65, 66.

much of their attention to the lands and tenants of these estates, where their political influence was probably more significant.

The more limited evidence for the Mortemers suggests they too were more active politically in England throughout much of the twelfth century, and left little record of significant interaction with the tenants on their Norman fief of Saint-Victor-en-Caux. Before the succession of Roger de Mortemer in 1185, there are only a few charters for the family foundation of the abbey of Saint-Victor. Two were given by Roger's father, Hugh II, in the 1170s, and were witnessed by tenants and other individuals from the local area, such as Jordan and Robert de Beaunay, Roger de Humesnil, Ralph de Pelletot, William L'Epinay and Reginald de Vassonville.[12]

As a consequence of the limited activity of the great cross-Channel lords, aristocratic society in the Pays de Caux, prior to 1189, was dominated by baronial families whose main interests were in Normandy, and who left little evidence of activity across the Channel in England. The most important of these families were the Tancarvilles, whose Norman estates were significantly more extensive than their English lands. They maintained an extensive retinue of dependants drawn mainly from their tenants or other families in the Pays de Caux. William II, lord of Tancarville from 1140 to 1190, maintained a large military household composed of many knights whose activities in the 1160s are described in the biography of William Marshal.[13] One particular charter of William de Tancarville, for the family foundation of the abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville, and dating from the 1140s, identifies many of his closest companions.[14] On the day after being knighted, William was received formally at the abbey and, with the advice of his seneschal Roger de Cailly, and his knights and friends, lay his sword on the altar and confirmed the many gifts of his ancestors. William's companions included his kinsman John de la Londe, Robert de Mortemer (probably father of William, the ducal official), Robert des Ifs, Andrew de Beuzemouchel, Humphrey de Villers, William de Bodeville, Robert Fumeri, Adam de

[12] Saint-Victor pp. 411-3; *RHF* xxiii p. 614; ADSM 13 H 237.
[13] *HGM* i ll. 814-1115.
[14] ADSM 13 H 15; *Saint-Georges* pp. xiii-xiv. The charter describes William giving the confirmation *consilio et admonitione sociorum meorum nobilium virorum qui mecum venerant.* These knights who accompanied William also made personal gifts to the abbey, and are described as *milites meorum et amicorum*.

Mirville, and Robert de Freschennis. Representatives of these families continued to appear in William's later charters, and many were tenants. Robert des Ifs, who was later referred to as seneschal, held land of the Tancarvilles at Larrufai (near Betteville, S-M, Caudebec) and Blancheville (S-M, Pavilly) and witnessed other charters of William II, as did the Beuzmouchels who held a fief of the Tancarvilles near Bernières (S-M, Bolbec).[15] After 1189, Alexander de Villers and his brother William were prominent among the witnesses of William's son, Ralph II de Tancarville. It is likely that the Villers family held a fee at Villers-Chambellan (now Villers-Ecalles) of the Tancarvilles. A charter of King Philip of 1205 references this fief, which was also the site of one of the Tancarville castles.[16] Members of the Bodeville family held two and a quarter fees of the Tancarvilles at Bodeville and Muchedent (S-M, Longueville), and continued to witness their lords' charters into the early thirteenth century.[17]

In contrast to his extensive activity and following in the Pays de Caux, William de Tancarville left little evidence of interest in his valuable English estates. In the mid twelfth century, he made a few gifts to the priory of Bruton, close to his Somerset estates.[18] It appears that William used one of his important Norman followers, Luke de Craménil, as his seneschal in England. In addition to holding property on the Tancarville estates in Lincolnshire, Luke was an important figure in the Pays de Caux, witnessing Tancarville charters for the abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville, and the acts of many other lords in Normandy, as well as making his own gifts to the abbey of Valmont.[19] It is likely that William de Tancarville was mainly an absentee landlord in his English lands with Luke acting on his behalf. For example, in 1177, King Henry II issued an order to both William de Tancarville and Luke to allow the monks of Belvoir Priory to hold their land and men in peace.[20]

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[15] *Saint-Georges,* pp 73-6, Extraits des Titres p. 5; Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 22.
[16] *Saint-Georges* pp. xxxii, lxxix, Extraits des Titres, pp.10, 12, 14; *Longueville* no. 39. The charter of King Philip (Mertene, *Amplissimus Collection* vol. i col. 1051) established his own chamberlain, Adam fitz Walter, on the Tancarville fief at Villers-Ecalles. Its political significance is discussed in Chapter 8 p. 217.
[17] *RHF* xxiii p. 641; *Saint-Georges* p. xxxii, Extrait de Titres, p. 4
[18] *Bruton* nos. 11, 16.
[19] *Saint-Georges de Boscherville*, p. xxxii; ADSM 18 HP 2, 19 H 201.
[20] *LCH* no. 208.

Apart from the Tancarvilles, aristocratic society in the Pays de Caux, prior to 1189, was dominated by minor baronial families such as the Estoutevilles, Esnevals, Malets and Martels, and many knightly families who left little trace of any lands or connections across the Channel.[21] These families maintained extensive connections with each other. Their charters show individual barons and knights appearing regularly in the witness lists of the charters of neighbouring families. The charters for the abbey of Longueville, for example, reveal representatives from the same families appearing as donors and witnesses, including the Héricourts, Villequiers, Trublevilles, Rossels, Hachets, Hautots, Talbots, Criquetots and Dénestanvilles.[22] Similarly, the charters of Valmont abbey reveal repeated gifts or attestations by representatives of the local families of Greinville, Normanville, Panchevout and Le Cauchois. In one of the charters, Hugues de Normanville gave the abbey an annual rent of 20 s. from his mill of Macteville for the soul of his lord Robert d'Estouteville.[23]

Lesser barons such as the Estoutevilles, Martels, Malets and Esnevals were an integral part of this society. Their charters were often witnessed by individuals from the knightly families referenced above. For example, members of the Panchevout and Normanville families appear as witnesses in the charters of Robert d'Estouteville and his son Henry.[24] Ralph Le Cauchois witnessed a charter of Robert d'Esneval given to the abbey of Graville.[25] Similarly, representatives of the baronial families often appeared as witnesses in the charters of the humbler knightly families. For example, William Malet appeared in the charters of William de Hirville and Walter d'Anneville. Robert d'Estouteville, and a number of his younger brothers, appeared as witnesses in the charters of many knightly families, particularly those associated with the Estouteville foundation of the abbey of Valmont, such as William Torbet, an Estouteville tenant, Hugh de Normanville, Peter de Hautot, Eustace de Greinville,

[21] See Chapter 1 pp. 26-7.
[22] See for example *Longueville* nos. 12, 30, 37, 38, 55, 60, 63, 65, and 86.
[23] ADSM series 19 H 129, 130, 201.
[24] ADSM 19 H 182, G 4 134, 19 H 2.
[25] ADSM 23 HP 1 fo. 126.

Hugh Chauvel and Luke de Craménil, a Giffard tenant in Normandy and Tancarville tenant in England.[26]

These aristocratic families were active patrons of a number of religious houses in the Pays de Caux, further demonstrating the cohesive nature of this community. As the charters referenced above show, the abbey of Valmont, founded by Nicholas d'Estouteville, father of Robert, was an important focus not only for the family itself but also for a number of the knightly families. The Estouteville connection with the abbey continued into the thirteenth century with Henry d'Estouteville, son of Robert, making gifts to the abbey of the tithes of his fair at Valmont to mark the anniversary of his wife, after her death in the 1220s.[27] The Estoutevilles also patronised other abbeys such as Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville. Robert and his wife Leonia were received into the fellowship of the abbey after donating rents from his mill near Brévedent.[28] Many of the local knightly families also supported the abbey in the later twelfth century, including William de Trubleville, Ralph d'Eseneval, and Reginald de Gerponville. [29] In the eastern Caux, the abbey of Longueville provided a focus for many members of the local aristocracy, such as Eustace de Greinville, Walter de Dénestanville, William Talbot, Robert Cauchois, and Ralph de Trubleville.[30]

While aristocratic society in the Pays de Caux was dominated by those with mainly Norman interests, and the influence of the major cross-Channel lords appeared weak, the political alignment of the local aristocracy with the Plantagenet king-dukes was underpinned by the involvement of many Pays de Caux families in the ducal administration of Normandy. By 1180, Robert d'Estouteville was an important ducal official in the Pays de Caux, holding the farm of Lillebonne, and the ducal castle of Arques.[31] Geoffrey de Bléville, a tenant and associate of Walter Giffard prior to 1164, farmed the Giffard honour on behalf of the king-duke in 1180, and undertook other administrative responsibilities in the region. His son Richard was *bailli* of the Pays de

[26] ADSM 19 H 127, 130, 134, 150, 201. See p. 74 above for references to Luke de Craménil as a tenant and offical of the Tancarvilles.
[27] G. de La Morandière, *Histoire de la Maison d'Estouteville en Normandie* (Paris, 1903), p. 80.
[28] *CDF* no. 212; ADSM 13 H 252.
[29] *St Georges* p. cvii, Extrait des Titres, p. 3.
[30] *Longueville* nos. 12, 22, 31, 43, 53.
[31] See Chapter 1 pp. 31-2.

Caux in 1172.[32] The Trublevilles, who were tenants of the Giffard honour, holding two fees near Criquetot, were also active in ducal service.[33] In the 1190s, William and Drogo de Trubleville served as officials under King Richard, making payments to soldiers and overseeing work at the ducal castles of Radepont and Andely.[34] Other members of the family served under King John, possibly as household knights. In 1202-3, Ralph de Trubleville was custodian of the castle and farm of the honour of Gavray, and both Ralph and Luke de Trubleville, brothers of William and Drogo, served as knights in King John's Irish campaign of 1210.[35] William Malet served in the ducal administration in the Pays de Caux under King Richard, as custodian of the escheated lands of the Auffay family at Criquetot in 1194-5, and farmer of the vicomté of Montivilliers in 1197-8.[36] William Martel served as a ducal official under King John and, in December 1202, he was given custody of the castle of Arques.[37] William de Mortemer (probably no relation to the lords of Saint-Victor-en-Caux) was an important ducal official in the region, rising to prominence under Richard I as castellan of Verneuil in 1194, and, under King John, holding the castle of Arques, alongside William Marshal and William Martel, in 1202-3. Around the same time, he was *bailli* of La Londe and the vicomté between the Risle and Seine.[38] William de Mortemer was a tenant of the Tancarvilles, for his lands at Bretteville and Bec, and of the Giffard honour at Écuquetot, Heuqueville and Notre-Dame du Bec.[39] For families such as these, careers in ducal service offered an attractive alternative to their superior lord for both protection and advancement of their interests.

The Plantagenets were heavily dependent on these Pays de Caux families, and they remained loyal even during the final year of Plantagenet rule. In the spring of 1203, a number of barons in Upper Normandy, led by Hugh de Gournay, deserted to King Philip. However, the key figures in the Pays de Caux remained loyal and a number of

[32] *NPR* Hen II pp. 43, 47 and 48. Richard de Bléville, son of Geoffrey, appears in the Norman Pipe Roll of 1194-5, accounting for the debts of his father arising from his custody of the Giffard honour (*NPR* Ric I p. 29). Richard is referenced as *bailli* of the Pays de Caux in the 1172 survey (*RPA* p. 270).
[33] *Longueville* no. 97, *Saint-Georges*, Extrait des Titres, pp. 3, 12: *RPA* p. 287.
[34] *NPR* Ric I pp. 112, 235, 246.
[35] *MRSN* ii p. 514; *LP* 3 Joh p. 3; *RL* 12 Joh pp. 178, 179, 189.
[36] *NPR* Ric I pp. 11, 238.
[37] *LP* 4 Joh p. 22.
[38] *HGM* ii ll. 10476-10499; *NPR* Ric I p. 149; *LP* 4 Joh 22; *MRSN* ii p. 560.
[39] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', pp. 39-41; *RHF* xxiii pp. 642, 644-5.

them, including William de Mortemer, William Martel, Richard de Villequier, Ralph and Richard de Trubleville, received rebel lands from the king.[40] Even when King John's position was collapsing in the summer of 1204, a number of these men, including Henry d'Estouteville, Robert d'Esneval, Thomas de Pavilly, Richard de Villequier, Geoffrey du Bois and Peter de Hautot, defended Rouen against King Philip of France during the final siege in June of that year.[41]

Cross-Channel identity and connections, 1189-1204

While the cross-Channel connections of the Pays de Caux baronage prior to 1189 appeared weak, as a result of the diminished influence of the great cross-Channel lords in the region, the strong tradition of ducal service among many of the lesser baronial and knightly families acted as a potential counterweight, creating a strong sense of loyalty to the dynasty that ruled the Anglo-Norman realm. In the years after 1189, this provided favourable circumstances for the baronial allies of the Plantagenets, including many of the important cross-Channel families, to extend their influence and connections in Normandy, as they found ready allies and supporters among the aristocracy of the region. This development was prompted in part by the growing threat to the duchy in this period, and the extensive involvement of many barons in the defence of Normandy. This, in turn, accounts for the more extensive evidence of cross-Channel interest and activity by many barons in the region in the years after 1189, revealing important indicators of the depth of their attachment to, and identification with their cross-Channel inheritance.

The most important example of this development in the Pays de Caux was William Marshal, who created a powerful Norman following among his tenants, officials and other prominent individuals in the region. As co-heir to the Giffards, he revived the lordship of this important barony and established himself as probably the most powerful magnate in the region. William's interest in his Norman estates was, in part, driven by his political ambitions to build influence and power that made him increasingly indispensible to the Plantagenets. He was also clearly attached to

[40] *RN* 4 Joh pp. 92-5.
[41] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes,* i no.716.

Normandy.[42] Before he acquired his barony in 1189, he had spent much of his career as a household knight in the duchy serving various lords, including William de Tancarville and the Plantagenets, and developing relationships with many members of the Norman aristocracy. William's first act on being invested with his lands by King Richard was to visit his new Norman estate at Équiqueville, in the Pays de Caux.[43]

As Crouch has demonstrated, many members of William's retinue were drawn from areas close to his lands in south-west England. However, the evidence from William's charters shows that, during the period 1194-1204, when he was regularly present in Normandy, he also attracted a number of barons and knights from the Pays de Caux into his following, particularly those individuals who could provide him with valuable service in the duchy. One particular charter illustrates the cross-Channel composition of William's retinue. It was a formal confirmation for the abbey of Longueville, given between June and September 1200, when William was almost certainly in Normandy and at the height of his power and influence there.[44] The witnesses included those English knights identified by Crouch as part of his retinue such as William Waleran, Hugh of Sandford, John of Earley, but also a number of familiar names from the Pays de Caux, including Jordan de Sauqueville, Richard de Bléville, William and Helias Hachet, Drogo de Trubleville, William and John de Héricourt. Most of these men were from families who had been followers of Walter Giffard prior to his death in 1164, demonstrating William's success in attracting new followers from his Norman lands.[45]

These individuals appear regularly in William's others charters likely to have been given during his time in the duchy. Richard de Bléville witnessed four of William's charters for different recipients. He was the son of Geoffrey de Bléville, a leading tenant of Walter Giffard III, and the farmer of the honour while it was in royal

[42] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 29-66.
[43] *HGM* i ll. 9440-9503; Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 92.
[44] *Marshal* no. 70. William was with King John at Argentan on 7 June 1200 (*RPA* pp. 483-5).
[45] *Longueville* nos. 3, 15, 16, 17, 68, 95; *CDF* nos. 102, 223, 236; *Le Trepor*t no. XV; ADSM 7 H 24; London, TNA PRO 31/8/140A no. 467; 'Newington Longeville Charters', ed. H. E. Salter, *Oxfordshire Record Society*, 1 (1930), nos. 1, 6, 121; *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, ed. J. G. Jenkins, 3 vols., Buckinghamshire Record Society, 2, 10, 12 (London and Aylesbury, 1938-62), no. 437.

custody during the reign of Henry II.[46] Richard appears to have inherited his father's responsibility before the honour was granted to William Marshal, and hence would have been useful to William in the administration of his new lands.[47] William de Hachet and his brother Helias witnessed three charters of William between 1189 and 1200. They held land at Doudeville, Mesnil-Rury and other locations, and were patrons of Longueville.[48] William de Héricourt, a Norman tenant of Earl Richard de Clare, became a member of William's retinue, witnessing many of his charters. William de Héricourt was an active member of the local community, probably from a family of officials of the Giffard honour, and witnessed many charters of other members of the aristocracy of the Pays de Caux during this period.[49] Jordan de Sauqueville is one of the members of William's retinue referenced by his biographer and remained with William after the loss of Normandy. He was one of the few knights who possessed interests in both England and Normandy, and witnessed many charters of William on both sides of the Channel.[50] All these men were prominent members of the Pays de Caux aristocracy, and hence well positioned to provide William with valuable support as his responsibilities in the region expanded prior to 1204.

William's position as perhaps the most senior military and political agent of both Plantagenet kings, in which capacity he spent much of his time in Normandy between 1194 and 1203, was undoubtedly a key factor in the development of his Norman retinue. During the reign of King John, he had extensive responsibilities for the defence of the eastern marches, requiring him to work with the leading elements of the aristocracy of the Pays de Caux, particularly those who had experience of the ducal administrative and military systems of the region.[51] Hence, William brought many of these individuals into his circle of close supporters. Drogo de Trubleville, a Giffard tenant, whose role in the military administration of King Richard has been

[46] 'Newington Longeville Charters' no. 6; *Marshal* nos. 66, 69, 70.
[47] *NPR* Hen II p. 43 for Geoffrey as farmer of the Giffard lands, and *NPR* Ric I p. 29 for an old debt of Richard as farmer of the honour. Geoffrey witnessed a number of charters of Earl Walter Giffard III (*Le Tréport* no. XV, *CDF* no. 236, *Longueville* no. 15).
[48] See *Marshal* nos. 66, 68, 69 for the witnessing of William Marshal's charters, and *Longueville* no. 50 for William Hachet's own gift to the abbey. The Hachet family also witnessed a number of charters of Earl Walter Giffard III (*Longueville* nos. 16 and 68).
[49] *Marshal* nos. 40, 41, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 96. For William as a witness of the charters of other members of the Pays de Caux aristocracy see, for example, *Longueville* nos. 12, 88, 89.
[50] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 219-20; *Marshal* nos. 66, 69, 70, 13, 46, 62, 83.
[51] See Chapter 8 p. 211 for William's role in the Pays de Caux under King John.

described above, witnessed three of William's charters during this period.[52] William de Mortemer, another important ducal official in the area and tenant of Earl Richard de Clare, became an associate of William Marshal.[53] He was castellan of Verneuil in 1194, and closely associated with the activities of William Marshal in the defence of Arques and the Pays de Caux in 1202-3, resisting King Philip's efforts to take the castle in July 1202.[54] William Martel, who served as a ducal official under King John and was castellan of Arques in December 1202, also had connections with William Marshal, witnessing four of his charters.[55] In his capacity as leader of the Plantagenet cause in north-eastern Normandy, William was able to capitalise on the experience of many members of the local aristocracy in ducal service as the basis for a powerful and extensive following in the region.

During the decade he had full access to his Norman lands, William also developed connections with other elements of the local communities of the Pays de Caux. He was an active patron of the religious houses associated with the old Giffard lands, particularly the abbey of Longueville. Both William and Countess Isabella issued a number of charters and made a number of gifts, including property in St-Laurent-de-Brevedent, and a rent of 9 l. 6s. in the mills of Montivilliers, given to establish an anniversary for William's father John. In a separate act, he gave the abbey half the church of Saint-Vaast d'Equiqueville for the souls of himself, Isabella and his children.[56] William and Isabella also made gifts to other Norman churches in the area, including the abbeys of Foucarmont and Le Bec-Hellouin.[57]

In many respects, William Marshal was a unique figure in the cross-Channel aristocracy. He was highly committed to supporting Plantagenet rule in Normandy, and hence motivated to build a strong base of support in the eastern regions of the duchy. But equally, William felt strong emotional attachment to Normandy, where he had spent much of his youth and early career, and maintained connections with the wider aristocracy. No doubt this was an important factor in William's desire to hold

[52] *Marshal* nos. 64, 66, 69.
[53] See p. 77 above.
[54] *HGM* ii ll. 10476-10499.
[55] *LP* 4 Joh p. 22; *Marshal* nos. 41, 87, 96, 98.
[56] *Marshal* nos. 66 and 67.
[57] *Norman Charters*, ed. N. Vincent, no. 70; *Marshal* nos. 40-1, 101.

on to his Norman lands after 1204, and his decision to do homage to King Philip II of France, even though this undermined his favoured position with King John for many years afterwards. [58]

The interest of the Mortemers in their Norman inheritance also appeared to grow in the years after 1189, and this too may have been prompted by the political ambitions of Roger de Mortemer. Previously, the Mortemers were most active in their lordship of Wigmore, on the Anglo-Welsh border, but they remained conscious of their family connection with Normandy. In 1171-2, when Roger's father Hugh created an appanage for his younger son, also called Hugh, he allocated lands in England as well as property in Normandy, at Saint Riquier, Dancourt and Preusseville in the county of Eu, perhaps indicating that he regarded it as important that all his descendants should continue to have interests on both sides of the Channel.[59]

After succeeding his father Hugh in 1185, Roger continued to devote attention to his Anglo-Welsh lands. On the anniversary of his father's death, he went to the priory of Wigmore, and made a number of gifts as well as confirming the endowment of his father.[60] Roger also patronised other churches in the area, including Worcester cathedral chapter which, in 1203, received a grant of 20 s. a year from land and fisheries at Wrebenhall, and Wormley Priory which was given the tithe of his house at Stretford (Herefordshire).[61] But the evidence suggests that Roger also devoted considerable time to his Norman interests. He made a number of gifts to the family foundation of the abbey of Saint-Victor-en-Caux, including a few of a particularly personal nature, such as the 60 s. he gave in fulfilment of a vow he made when he was ill in the church of Saint-Victor, and the 10 s. given on the altar of the church for the soul of his lifelong servant William du Bois.[62] Roger also patronised other important abbeys in the Pays de Caux. He gave his revenue from the church of Dracqueville to Saint-Georges de Boscherville and, in 1192-3, in a gathering at Jumièges attended by a number of Norman bishops, Roger granted the fief of Adam de la Garenne. This

[58] *HGM* ii ll. 12852-12902. *RAP* ii pp. 491-2. See Chapter 8, pp. 218-25 for a full discussion of William's actions in 1204-5.
[59] *LCH* no. 1882.
[60] *Mon.* vi pp. 343-9.
[61] *Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral* (PRS, 1968), nos. 271 and 447; *Mon.* vi p. 399.
[62] Saint-Victor pp. 413-4.

followed the settlement of a dispute between Adam and the abbot in the exchequer court of Normandy.[63]

Roger's charters also reveal his substantial following of Norman tenants. Walter de Normesnil and his brother Richard witnessed a number of Roger's charters, and almost certainly held land at Normesnil close to Saint-Victor. Ralph de Pelletot, a knight holding lands in the parish of the same name and a patron of Saint-Victor, was present for a number of Roger's acts given in Normandy.[64] Other knights of the area who regularly witnessed Roger's acts included Adam and Hugh Sauvage, William de l'Epinay, Roger de Saint-Laurent, who held lands of the Saint-Victor honour at Bosco-le-Haré and Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière, and Renaud de Vassonville, who held lands near Saint-Victor.[65] Roger clearly felt a strong personal connection with his Norman lands and followers but the political dimension of his interest was demonstrated by his landing in Dieppe, and subsequent capture by the forces of the king of France, soon after the final surrender of King John's supporters in Rouen in June 1204.[66] Perhaps Roger was attempting to rally the king's forces in the duchy, including his own followers on his Saint-Victor estates and the tenants of other previously loyal cross-Channel lords, such as Ralph de Tancarville, William earl Warenne and William Marshal, who populated the immediate hinterland of Dieppe.

Roger's network included leading baronial families in both England and Normandy. In December 1194, in a case before the *curia regis* in England, Roger's pledges were Earl Roger Bigod, Geoffrey de Say and William de Warenne (probably son of Earl Hamelin), and, in 1199, Roger acted as a pledge for William earl Ferrers.[67] In Normandy, Roger established an important alliance with a leading family through his marriage to Isabella, daughter of Walkelin de Ferrières, an extensive landholder in

[63] ADSM 13 H 237; *Jumieges* nos. 164 and 165.
[64] Saint-Victor pp. 413-4; ADSM 13 H 237; *Jumièges* no. 165.
[65] ADSM 9 H 136, 13 H 237; Saint-Victor pp 370-77, 409-10, 411-2; *Jumièges* no. 165.
[66] *CN* no. 167; Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 388. See also D. J. Power, 'Between the Angevin and Capetian courts: John de Rouvray and the knights of the Pays de Bray, 1180-1225', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997).
[67] *RCR* ii p. 87; *FR* 1 Joh 3.

central Normandy and close supporter of King Richard.[68] This connection helped secure the Ferrières' family interests in England after 1204, when Isabella's brothers, Hugh and Henry, remained in Normandy. Isabella gave King John 300 marks and one destrier for the manors of her brother Hugh at Lechlade and Longborough in Gloucestershire. In 1207, Roger proffered 700 marks for Oakham, the former property of Isabella's elder brother Henry.[69] Subsequently, Isabella continued to take care of the family interests in England, issuing a charter for Brooke Priory (Rutland), confirming the grants of her father Walkelin from his English lands.[70]

As discussed above, Earl Hamelin and Countess Isabella de Warenne were not especially active within the local communities of their Norman estates but there is evidence that they remained conscious of their heritage as representatives of an important Norman family. They maintained close relations with a number of barons in the duchy revealed through the marriage of their daughters.[71] Their second daughter Isabella married firstly Robert de Lacy, lord of the major honour of Pontefract and a neighbour of the Warennes in Yorkshire, and, after his death in 1193, she married the important Norman frontier baron Gilbert de l'Aigle, who as lord of Pevensey was a neighbour of the Warennes in Sussex. Their third daughter Matilda married Henry count of Eu, whose extensive Norman county and English lordship of Hastings lay close to the Warenne lands in both countries. After the death of Count Henry in 1190, Matilda married Henry d'Estouteville, who was a neighbour of the Warennes in the Pays de Caux. Both Hamelin and Isabella remained conscious of the old Warenne family roots on the continent. During the 1180s, they rekindled a family association with the abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer in Flanders, that dated from the late eleventh century, when Isabella's ancestor William I de Warenne had been advocate of the abbey.[72] The couple issued three charters for the abbey concerning gifts of land

[68] See chapter 1, pp. 33-4 for the Norman lands acquired by Roger as result of this marriage to Isabella de Ferrières.
[69] *PR* 6 Joh, p. 148; *FR* 6 Joh p. 209.
[70] *Mon.* vi p. 234.
[71] See *EYC* viii pp. 20-4 for a detailed account of the marriages of the family of Hamelin and Isabella.
[72] Van Houts, 'The Warenne View of the Past', pp. 169-74. The charters issued by Hamelin and Isabella concerning lands held by them in the Saint-Omer region date from the 1180s and early 1190s (*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. B. E. C Guerard, nos. 327, 365, and 389). See also Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 35 for the significance of these connections,

in the area, suggesting they valued the family's historic connections in the region. The north-eastern frontier of Normandy may have been a favoured locality for the couple as the earl probably built the cylindrical keep at Mortemer in a design similar to his other favoured residence at Conisborough in Yorkshire.[73] Despite their lifelong interest in a number of churches in England, such as the priories of Lewes in Sussex or Castle Acre in Norfolk, both Hamelin and Isabella chose to be buried at the abbey of Notre-Dame du Pré near Rouen, in 1202 and 1203 respectively, a location with close associations with the Norman dukes and their relatives.[74] As the principal representative of the Warenne dynasty, Isabella may have been particularly conscious of her family's Norman past and role among the leading supporters of the Norman king-dukes, during the heroic age of the Conquest and the early twelfth century. The commissioning by Isabella, and probably her first husband Earl William IV, of the 'Warenne chronicle', was driven primarily by the concern to collect evidence of title to lost lands, but also demonstrated a continuing interest in the Norman dimension of the family history in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[75]

Isabella's son, Earl William V, also revealed an attachment to his Norman inheritance during the brief period he had possession of the lands prior to their loss in 1204. When he succeeded to the earldom in May 1202, his larger Norman honour of Mortemer had already been lost to the French but he was active in the defence of north-eastern Normandy. This may have led the new earl to expand his interests in the duchy as he was rewarded by King John with other lands in the Pays de Caux seized from the count of Boulogne.[76] During this period, he may have called on the support of his Norman tenants. In his final months in the duchy in 1203, Earl William gave the presentation of the church of Louvetot, on his Bellencombre honour, to the priory

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and the castles at Mortemer and Conisborough for the cross-Channel identity of the Warennes.

[73] For the construction of the castles of Mortemer and Conisborough see *EYC* viii p. 20 and H. Sands and H. Braun, 'Conisborough and Mortemer', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxxii (1936), p. 149.

[74] The evidence for their burial at Notre-Dame-du-Pré is in a charter of their son Earl William V, given in 1203 (ADSM 20 H 148). There was a tradition at Lewes priory, recorded in the cartulary in the fifteenth century, that Hamelin and Isabella were buried there but the evidence for Notre-Dame-du-Pré appears compelling (*Lewes* ii p. 18).

[75] *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, pp. xviii, xxviii, xl.

[76] *RN* 4 Joh p. 47.

of Notre-Dame-du-Pré, where his mother and father were buried.[77] At least two of the witnesses, Nicholas and Gilbert de Saane, were probable Norman followers. In the surveys of the Warenne lands in Normandy after 1204, twelve out of thirty knights' fees, an unusually high number, were in the custody of the French king. A few had been held by the barons Roger de Mortemer and Geoffrey de Say, who remained loyal to King John. Others had been held by knights, such as Philip de Dénestanville, Ralph de Beauchamp and Hugh de Cressy, who were often present as witnesses of charters given in Normandy before 1204 but do not appear afterwards.[78] Perhaps these fees had also been confiscated by King Philip because the tenants were members of earl William's Norman retinue, who followed him to England after he lost his estates in the duchy.

The loss of the remainder of his Norman lands to the king of France the following year clearly weighed heavily on Earl William, and he was one of the barons in England who, in April 1205, pressed King John for permission to do homage to King Philip of France for their Norman lands.[79] The request was refused, but King John was forced to placate the earl by giving him substantial compensation. On 19 April 1205, King John ordered the sheriff of Lincolnshire to give Earl William the land of Grantham and Stamford, previously held by Ralph de Tancarville and William du Hommet respectively, until he recovered his land in Normandy or until the King gave him a reasonable exchange. Earl William also secured the possession of the English lands of his brother-in-law in Normandy, Gilbert de L'Aigle, which comprised the honour of Pevensey in Sussex and a few estates in Surrey, close to William's honour of Lewes. William fined with the king and held the lands on behalf of his sister Isabella. In 1217, he secured possession of the lands of Henry d'Estouteville, his other brother-in-law in Normandy, suggesting he maintained a connection with his family

[77] The charter is recorded in a vidimus of Walter archbishop of Rouen, given in December 1203 (ADSM 20 H 148). The Saane family was an established member of Pays de Caux society. Representatives witnessed charters of the Mortemers (*Saint-Victor*, p. 384-5), and were tenants of the Tancarvilles at *Wiguemare* (*RHF* xxiii p. 644).
[78] *RPA* pp. 288-9; *RHF* xxiii p. 641. For Philip de Dénestanville, see *Longueville* nos. 49, 88, 103, and for Hugh de Cressy, see ADSM 26 H 155 and *Le Tréport* no. 75. The Cressys were also English landholders, holding a knight's fee in the Giffard honour (*CB* no. CXXXIV [18]) and served in the ducal administration in 1184 (*NPR* Hen II p. 82).
[79] *Histoire des ducs de Normandie,* pp. 99-100. See also Chapter 8, pp. 222-4 for a full discussion of this incident.

in the duchy, and a continuing interest in the restoration of the cross-Channel interests of the family when circumstances allowed.[80]

The Estoutevilles had developed their cross-Channel interests through their political career in the service of the Plantagenets but were also probably influenced by their family history. Their ancestors had been one of the first great cross-Channel families to acquire extensive estates in England under the Conqueror, but subsequently lost most of them through their support for Duke Robert Curthose.[81] Nicholas d'Estouteville, who was lord of Valmont until his death in 1177, and his son Robert, who died in 1185, sought to re-establish the family as important cross-Channel lords. Nicholas chose to endow all his sons with lands in both Normandy and England. His younger son, Nicholas, inherited property from his father at Kimberley and Bedingham (Norfolk), as well as land in the Pays de Caux. William was given land at Stratfield by his father, in addition to property in Normandy. The youngest son, Richard, held property at Valmont and was given land in England at *Westona*, held of the fief of his elder brother Robert.[82] The eldest son, Robert, inherited the main Norman barony of Valmont and, through his marriage to Leonia de Rames prior to 1180, acquired substantial English interests in her barony in the east Midlands.[83] While Leonia inherited minor estates in the Pays de Caux, close to the Estouteville honour of Valmont, her more extensive English lands were almost certainly the primary motivation for the marriage.[84] Leonia maintained a keen interest in her English possessions throughout her life. For example, in her charters for the abbey of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, she confirmed the gift of her tenant Richard Basset of Duckmanton, but retained her rights to the services and reliefs he owed.[85] Her continuing interest in her English lands, and determination to retain them, may have influenced her son Henry. He too issued charters for Welbeck, confirming his mother's grant, and making his own gift of revenues of 26 s 8d a year. He also issued

[80] *LC* 6 Joh. p. 28. For the arrangements concerning the lands of Gilbert de L'Aigle and Henry d'Estouteville, see *LF* i pp. 65, 67, 71, and 373. See also Thompson, 'L'aristocratie anglo-normande', pp. 185-6.
[81] See Chapter 1, p. 29.
[82] *EYC* xi pp. 46-7, 48.
[83] See Chapter 1, pp. 31-2 for the expansion of the Estouteville interests in this period.
[84] See Chapter 1, p. 32 for details of the English and Norman lands of the Rames family.
[85] London, BL Harley MS 36401 fos. 64-5.

a charter for Felley priory in Nottinghamshire, confirming the gift of the church of Annesley.[86]

The family's ambition to establish themselves within the cross-Channel nobility was rewarded, after 1190, by the marriage of Henry d'Estouteville to Matilda, daughter of Hamelin earl Warenne.[87] The Estoutevilles must have been seen as a family of high standing within cross-Channel society to secure this alliance with one of the most important families. This probably reflected the close alignment of Henry and his father with the Plantagenets. Henry was among the defenders of Rouen during the final siege of June 1204, and although afterwards he remained in the duchy to retain his Norman lands, his close relatives in England continued to safeguard the family interests. His mother Leonia was able to make arrangements with King John to secure the family lands in 1205, and after her death in 1215-16, Henry briefly regained the lands in the confused political situation, before his brother-in-law William earl Warenne secured possession in 1217.[88]

Between 1189 and 1204, only two leading barons of the region, Earl Richard de Clare and Ralph de Tancarville, failed to leave any significant evidence of their attachment to lands and interests on both sides of the Channel. Unlike the other great cross-Channel families, such as the Warennes and Mortemers, Earl Richard had few roots in the duchy. His predecessors had not held lands there since the late eleventh century.[89] Neither was Earl Richard inclined to forge a career in Normandy through service with the Plantagenet king-dukes. Instead, he appears to have been concerned only with his extensive interests in England. His associates were mainly tenants of his English estates, such as Robert fitz Humphrey, the constable of Richard's father Earl Roger, John de Korniherd the earl's steward, and Hamo Pecche, or local barons such as William of Hastings.[90] Earl Richard was also an active benefactor of his favoured religious houses in England. The family had originally been associated with the abbey

[86] London, BL Harley MS 36401 fos. 33, 65; BL Add. MS 36872 fos. 35, 55.
[87] *EYC* ix p. 55.
[88] *FR* 6 Joh p. 213; *PR* 7 Joh p. 232; *LF* i p. 153; *EYC* ix p. 55; Thompson, 'L'aristocratie anglo-normande', pp. 185-6.
[89] See Chapter 1 p. 40.
[90] BL Cotton App xxi fos. 22, 23, 25; *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England*, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford, 1982), no. 34; Mortimer, 'Honour of Clare', pp. 180, 190. For John de Corniherd's appearance as the earl's seneschal in 1200-1, see *PR* 3 Joh p. 140.

of Le Bec-Hellouin in Normandy and became important patrons of its three dependent priories in England at Cowick, St Neots and Stoke-by-Clare.[91] By the end of the century, the earl's interests were changing and he devoted more attention to his own foundations in England at Tonbridge in Kent, and at Anglesey in Cambridgshire, both endowed with former Giffard lands.[92]

In contrast to his activities in England, there are no charters of Earl Richard, or any other evidence of his dealings with his new Norman estates. There is no record of any transactions with the abbeys associated with the Giffard lords, such as Longueville and Montivilliers, while no tenants or other individuals from the Pays de Caux appear as witnesses in the earl's charters. In the 1190s, Earl Richard was far less active in Normandy than his co-heir William Marshal, and did not have the same motivation to build a Norman following among his tenants in the Pays de Caux. Perhaps Earl Richard found it difficult to build his influence in the region due to the weak lordship exercised by the Giffards in their lands in the western Pays de Caux, where most of the lands assigned to Earl Richard were located.[93] One of his tenants, William Malet, was a prominent baron in his own right, holding the fief of Graville-Sainte-Honorine directly of the duke.[94] Other tenants may have moved into the circles of rival lords. William Bennenguel, from an old family of Giffard tenants, and holder of a fief at Blanques, can be found witnessing charters of Ralph de Tancarville during this period, and had a tenurial relationship with the Estouteville family.[95] William de Héricourt, who held a fief of Earl Richard de Clare near Doudeville, was very active in the knightly community of the Pays de Caux, witnessing many charters of his neighbours. He later appeared in the retinue of William Marshal prior to 1204.[96] At the very least, however, Earl Richard must have regarded his Norman lands as a valuable acquisition. He paid large fines to the king in 1189, and again in 1194, to

[91] See, for example, charters in the cartulary of the priory of Stoke-by-Clare (London, BL Cotton App xxi fos. 23, 25, 26-8 and published in *Stoke by Clare Priory Cartulary*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Mortimer, Suffolk Charters series iv-vi (Woodbridge, 1982-4), i nos. 38-56 and 68).
[92] J. C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), pp. 430-5, 442-3.
[93] Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 32-3.
[94] *NPR* Ric I pp. 6, 238; *Longueville* no. 37; *Jumièges* nos. 115, 161; Le Maho, 'Grand Caux', p. 41.
[95] *RHF* xxiii p. 641; *Longueville* no. 39.
[96] *Longueville* nos. 88, 89, 103. He witnesses many charters of William Marshal; for examples, see *Marshal* nos. 40, 41, 66 and 67.

secure the Giffard lands and was likely to be interested in the revenues they could provide. In 1180, while in ducal custody, the Giffard honour yielded more than 752 l. (£188).[97] Perhaps things might have changed in the next generation had the family retained its Norman lands after 1204. In the early 1200s, Earl Richard's son, Gilbert, was active in Normandy in the service of King John and sought to expand the family interest in the duchy. In 1202, he was able to recover what may have been former Giffard property in Harfleur and Montivilliers, alienated by Henry II when the lands were in royal custody.[98]

The Tancarvilles had held lands in England for much of the twelfth century, but their Norman lands were far more extensive and account for most of their recorded activity. Ralph II de Tancarville, who succeeded his father William in 1191, was a particularly active lord in the Pays de Caux and continued to maintain close relationships with his leading tenants such as Alexander de Villers and Jordan de Lindebeuf. Both witnessed a number of charters of Ralph between 1190 and 1204.[99] A number of his other associates were drawn from the more prominent aristocratic families of the region. A charter for Longueville given by Walter the clerk, one of Ralph's tenants, recording a gift made in his presence at Arques, was witnessed by William Malet, William Martel, and William de Trubleville, the ducal official.[100] The Martels witnessed a number of charters of Ralph in the later twelfth century, while Peter de Villequier, probably related to Richard de Villequier the ducal official and defender of Rouen in 1204, became Ralph's seneschal and witnessed a number of his charters.[101]

Similarly, the family continued to maintain close relationships with the abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville, located near their eastern castelry of Villers-Chambellan, as well as other Pays de Caux churches such as the priory of Longueville

[97] See *PR* 2 Ric I p. 102, 7 Ric I p. 225 for Earl Richard's fines to secure possession of the Giffard lands. For the farm of the Giffard lands in 1180, see *NPR* Hen II p. 43.
[98] *PR* 3 Joh p. 139; *RN* 4 Joh p. 51. See Chapter 1, p. 42.
[99] ADSM 55 H 7 fo. 14; *Saint-Georges de Boscherville* pp. xxxii, lxxix, Extraits des Titres p. 14; *RHF* xxiii p. 644.
[100] *Longueville* no. 37.
[101] *Saint-Georges de Boscherville,* pp. xxxii, lxxix, Extrait des Titres p.12; ADSM 55 H 7 fo. 14.

and abbey of Le Valasse.[102] The Tancarville family remained particularly close to Saint-Georges throughout their history. A charter of Ralph records him being received formally at the abbey as advocate, accompanied by his brother William and men from his retinue.[103] Ralph's successors after 1204, William III and Ralph III, continued to patronise the abbey and were buried in the church alongside their ancestors.[104]

There is very limited evidence of Ralph's interest in his English lands. The priory of Bruton continued to seek the assent of Ralph for their gifts and transactions. For example, Ralph authorised the priory to transfer its market to a new location, and in another charter confirmed the gifts to the priory of his tenants Alexander de Cantilupe and Henry de Careville.[105] He may also have made a gift to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds of one mark a year from his revenues in the manor of Grantham.[106]
Ralph made occasional visits to England and enjoyed connections with baronial society there. In 1199, he took part in an unlicensed tournament in England for which he was fined.[107] Those who gave pledges on his behalf were William Marshal, Hugh Bardulf, Alan Fitz Count and Saer de Quency, all prominent individuals at the royal court. It is possible that he retained a connection with William Marshal, whose mother Sybil was a relative of the Tancarvilles and, in the 1160s, had arranged for William to spend his formative years in the household of Ralph's father.[108] Ralph was also in England in 1200, as part of the royal entourage that accompanied King John to his meeting with King William of Scotland at Lincoln.[109] While Ralph's priorities lay with his extensive interests in the Pays de Caux, it is also likely that his valuable English estates induced him to pay attention to his interests there, and maintain connections with the cross-Channel nobility of the Plantagenet court.

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[102] *Saint-Georges de Boscherville*, p. xxxii, Extraits des Titres p. 14; *Longueville* p. 39; ADSM 18 HP 28
[103] *Saint-Georges de Boscherville*, Extraits des Titres p. 14.
[104] For the charters of Ralph's successors, see, for example, the charter of William III of 1210 (*Saint-Georges de Boscherville*, p. lxxvii), and of Ralph III, given in 1238 (*Saint-Georges de Boscherville*, Extrait de Titres p. 4). See also A. Deville, *Histoire du Chateau de Tancarville* (Rouen, 1834), p. 138, for the burials of William III and Ralph III in the sanctuary at Saint-Georges.
[105] *Bruton* nos.17 and 18.
[106] *LC* 7 Joh p. 37
[107] *FR* 1 Joh p. 75.
[108] *HGM* i ll. 378-1162.
[109] Howden, *Chronica* iv pp. 141-2.

Conclusion

During the later twelfth century, aristocratic society in the Pays de Caux comprised a small number of active baronial families and many knightly families who were generally predisposed to support the Plantagenet ducal rulers, with many serving in their administration. Prior to 1189, the evidence from this region tends to confirm the views of modern scholars that cross-Channel ties had diminished since the beginning of the century. Few of the active baronial families, such as the Tancarvilles, Malets, and Martels, possessed significant interests in England, or were particularly active across the Channel. The only exceptions were the Estoutevilles who, during the reign of Henry II, were successful in re-establishing themselves as cross-Channel barons. The old surviving cross-Channel families of the Pays de Caux, the Warennes and Mortemers, left little trace of active influence or connections with the region prior to 1189.

Nevertheless, this evidence may be deceptive and for many baronial families the cross-Channel connection remained important through to the end of Plantagenet rule in Normandy. The old families who held extensive lands in England, such as the Warennes and Mortemers, retained an attachment to their Norman roots, based partly on the material wealth and political influence their Norman lands provided but, in both families, there is also evidence of emotional attachment perhaps based on family identity and history. As the Warenne chronicle demonstrates, families in this period remained interested in the origins and achievements of their Norman ancestors. Similar factors may have encouraged the Estoutevilles to re-establish themselves in England, where their ancestors had once been important barons, and hence to move within the circle of the leading lords of the Plantagenet court.

The political events after 1189 were also instrumental in revealing the latent commitment of many baronial families to the cross-Channel connection. During this period, the significant emphasis placed by their rulers on the defence of Normandy may have prompted the barons to devote greater interest to their Norman inheritance, and extend their influence within these communities. William Marshal and Roger de Mortemer were particularly active within the Pays de Caux during this period, and Earl William de Warenne showed strong interest in maintaining his position in the

duchy. The fact that aristocratic society in the region demonstrated a high degree of alignment and engagement with the ducal regime, increased the readiness of local knightly families to give their support to these barons. Consequently, all three were able to build prominent followings, and exercise significant leadership and influence within the aristocratic community, including with established baronial members of this community such as the Estouteville, Malet and Martel families. The activities of the two other important barons of the region – Ralph de Tancarville and Richard earl of Clare - are less clear in terms of their position as cross-Channel lords. Ralph and his family remained rooted within the aristocratic society of the Pays de Caux, where they were a prominent force among the lesser aristocracy of their lands. Earl Richard remained focussed on his English interests. Nevertheless, in both cases, their interests on the other side of the Channel were valuable, and probably induced a commitment to retaining their stake in both countries. There is evidence to show that Ralph maintained ties and connections with leading barons whose main interests lay in England.

The evidence from this period of baronial interests and activities, when set alongside their strengthened cross-Channel landholding, demonstrates that many baronial families continued to attach importance to the cross-Channel connection. The general view of modern scholarship, of a decline in the course of the twelfth century, is not supported by the evidence from the barons of the Pays de Caux. Indeed, when these connections came under significant political pressure during the 1190s, this resulted in signs of increased activity in Normandy, and concerted efforts to build influence and a stake in the duchy. Consequently, when the events of 1204 severed the political connection between Normandy and England, many baronial families took considerable risks, through their political actions or through the use of cross-Channel family connections, to keep hold of their lands and maintain connections in both countries.

CHAPTER 4

Baronial Connections and Identity in the Cotentin

As discussed in Part I, the structure of baronial landholding in the Cotentin was very different to that of the Pays de Caux. There were no great baronies, such as those of the Giffards, Tancarvilles and Warennes, dominating the tenurial landscape and accounting for much cross-Channel landholding. In the Cotentin, cross-Channel interests were more diverse, extending across many families that held relatively modest baronies, although a few held larger fiefs elsewhere, either in Normandy or in England. Nevertheless, the evidence for the baronial families of the Cotentin confirms the conclusions of the previous chapter that, contrary to the view often presented in modern scholarship, there were many baronial families in these regions of Normandy who continued to value the connection between the two countries. Like many of their peers in the Pays de Caux, the families of the Cotentin remained firmly attached to their identity as cross-Channel barons, and often went to considerable lengths to maintain their links with both countries.

Both the Pays de Caux and Cotentin shared important similarities that undoubtedly strengthened the cross-Channel interest. In both regions, the aristocracy was closely aligned with the ducal regime, encouraging barons to extend their interests in both countries, and further reinforcing their commitment to maintaining the political connection. In addition, the dynastic policies and activities of families, revealed through their alliances and connections with other local families, served to extend their cross-Channel interests, and revealed their strong attachments to places and communities in both countries.

Ducal Servants and their Cross-Channel Connections

Among the Cotentin aristocracy, there was a long tradition of loyal service in the ducal administration and this continued in the second half of the twelfth century, when a number of barons assumed a leading position in the region through service with the new Plantagenet rulers of the duchy. These included many of the leading families such as the Le Hommets, Paynels, Taissons, Bohons and Vernons, and also

many members of the lesser aristocracy, such as Richard de Reviers, Thomas de Periers, Robert de Tresgoz, Hugh de Coulonces and Richard de Fontenay. Consequently, the aristocracy remained solid in its loyalty to the Plantagenets, even during the great rebellion of 1173-4.

The region was exposed to external political influences that might compete with the Plantagenets for baronial allegiance. The lands of most Cotentin barons were far removed from the influence of the king of France but the Vernons, who possessed a valuable castelry in the Seine valley, were exposed to the expanding power of the Capetians. Various Cotentin families who held lands in the Avranchin, near the frontier with Brittany, such as the earl of Chester and Fulk Paynel, maintained connections with Breton or Norman-Breton frontier families, such as the Fougères, Saint-Hilaires and Sublignys. This influenced their actions from time to time. For example, in 1173, Hugh earl of Chester colluded with Breton rebels.[1] After 1189, control of Brittany by the Plantagenet dukes of Normandy was far from secure as the Breton rulers, Duchess Constance and her son Arthur, supported by many of the Breton lords, sought to break loose from the overlordship of King Richard and King John.[2] Cotentin barons, such as Ranulf earl of Chester and possibly Fulk Paynel, became involved in this contest. Nevertheless, the interests of most Cotentin families were far removed from any Breton entanglements, and the predominant influence in the region remained the Plantagenet dukes and their administration. Consequently, most families looked to the king-dukes and the Anglo-Norman realm to extend their interests.

What is particularly striking in the Cotentin, in the later twelfth century, is that various families, whose main interests and background had been in Normandy, developed extensive interests in England as a result of their careers in ducal service. The Le Hommets provide the clearest evidence of this. William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, who succeeded his father Richard in 1179, was the leading representative of a family that had risen to prominence through service with the Plantagenet dukes. His power and influence was primarily based in western

[1] Howden, *Gesta* i pp. 56-61.
[2] See Chapter 7 pp. 189-91, and Chapter 8 pp. 208-10 for the influence of Breton politics on the activities of barons in the region.

Normandy and facilitated by a series of advantageous marriages for family members. His father, Richard, married Agnes, heiress to the Say and Remilly lands in the Cotentin and Bessin, while William married Lucy, daughter of Robert du Neubourg, who brought additional lands in the Cotentin and elsewhere.[3] In the late twelfth century, William's eldest son Richard married Gila, heiress to the Cotentin lands of Richard de La Haye, while his eldest daughter Agatha was married firstly to William de Fougères, an important baron of the Norman-Breton frontier, and then to Fulk Paynel lord of Hambye.

In addition to these marriage connections, William du Hommet's extensive influence in the region was demonstrated by his links with many other barons of western Normandy. The Subligny family, from the Avranchin and Breton marches, and associates of the earl of Chester, witnessed William's charters in Normandy and for Southwick Priory in England.[4] The Taissons and La Haye lords of Le Plessis witnessed a number of William's charters, the latter in both Normandy and England. A measure of William's influence, and extensive connections among the aristocracy of Normandy, is provided by the long list of pledges he collected as surety for his large fine, agreed with King Richard in 1194-5. They included many of his regular associates, such as William and Thomas de Periers, John de Subligny, Robert de Maisnil, William de Semilly, Ralph des Agneaux, and Robert de La Haye, but also many prominent members of the Norman aristocracy such as Ralph Taisson, Fulk de Vieuxpont, William de Mortemer (the ducal official from the Pays de Caux), and Robert Marmion.[5]

In the 1190s, William was at the height of his power in the region and, during King Richard's absence on crusade, he held an extraordinary collection of ducal offices.[6] Inevitably, many of his associates were drawn from the cadre of ducal officials who were prominent in the Plantagenet administration of Normandy. Various of these

[3] For a summary of the family connections and interests, and the considerable charter evidence available for the Le Hommet family, see Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', pp. 259-86. See also Chapter 2, pp. 61-2 above.
[4] *Calvados* Aunay no. 6; *GC* Instr pp .90-1; *Southwick* i no. 69; *NPR* Ric I p. 170; Coll. Mancel iii p. 1003; BnF ms. lat. 17137 no. 387.
[5] *NPR* Ric I pp. 82, 133, 134, 161, 170, 171, 195, 196, 198, 212, 219, 257, 264, 271. See Chapter 3, p. 77 for William de Mortemer's career as a ducal official in the Pays de Caux.
[6] See Chapter 7, p. 180.

individuals, such as Hugh de Cardonville, tenant of the Le Hommets in Normandy with a long history of association with the family, may have found positions as ducal officials through the patronage of the Le Hommets. Hugh witnessed a number of William's charters in England and Normandy and, in 1194-5, was custodian of the ducal castle of Gorran.[7] Thomas de Periers, who was active in the ducal administration of the Cotentin, was also a tenant of William du Hommet, and his gifts to the abbey of La Luzerne were confirmed by William.[8] Members of the Reviers family, from the northern Cotentin, and probably a cadet branch of the main Reviers-Vernon family, were also frequent witnesses to William's charters.[9] William and Henry de Reviers appear frequently in the charters of William du Hommet between 1180 and 1200, although it was Richard de Reviers who had the more important role in the ducal administration, acting as farmer of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Valognes and the vicomté of the Cotentin in 1202-3.[10]

While William's influence and network of connections were clearly centred within the aristocracy of western Normandy, they encompassed a growing English dimension. This reflected the ambitions of the Le Hommets to establish themselves as a true cross-Channel dynasty. Both William and his father often accompanied King Henry II to England and, as discussed in chapter 2, had been rewarded by the king with lands.[11] William's younger brothers, Enguerrand and Jordan, were endowed with English as well as Norman estates, ensuring that both cadet branches of the family had cross-Channel interests.[12] William and his family became particularly attached to Southwick Priory in Hampshire, located close to Portsmouth, and probably a regular stop on their frequent journeys to and from Normandy in the service of the king-dukes.[13] The priory received a number of gifts of property, and rights in Hampshire,

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[7] For Hugh as a witness of William's charters see, for example, *Southwick* i nos. 68, 71, 78 . See *NPR* Ric I p. 179 for his custody of Gorran.
[8] *NPR* Ric I pp. 134, 135, 271; *MRSN* ii p. 521. William du Hommet's charter for La Luzerne, given around 1184, confirmed the gifts of Thomas de Periers and his wife Gieva to the abbey (*CDF* no. 779). Thomas de Periers was also one of the pledges for the large fine William agreed with the King in 1194/5 (see p. 100 above).
[9] *CDF* 840; CBN iii p. 86; *Calvados*, Aunay nos. 11, 25, Le Plessis no. 1384, Vignats no. 2; ADC H 912*; ISADM* H 21.
[10] *MRSN* ii p. 506.
[11] See Chapter 2, pp. 61-2.
[12] Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', p. 267.
[13] *Southwick* i p. xviii.

Lincolnshire and Rutland.[14] Willam's wife Lucy, who was daughter of Robert du Neubourg and from a Norman family with few interests in England, became particularly attached to the priory and chose to be buried in the church. A number of William's charters describe the elaborate arrangements made in her memory, including provision for a light each night before the crucifix on her tomb, and a daily service for her soul.[15] Lucy's interest in the priory shows that she often accompanied William, along with their children, on his journeys to and from his English estates, where they established relationships with local families.[16] William probably held court at Southwick on a frequent basis, with local men such as Alexander of Boarhunt and Henry Dacus attending alongside William's regular followers.[17] The Le Hommets also took a close interest in the convent at Stamford, a manor in which they had been granted property by Henry II. In 1170, William's father Richard issued a charter in his hall there, while Lucy donated rents from her land at Bradecroft so the nuns would, in due course, celebrate her anniversary.[18]

The members of William's large retinue of knightly supporters were drawn mainly from his Norman tenants and other families of western Normandy but they regularly accompanied him on his frequent visits to England. A few were endowed with English lands.[19] These included Ralph des Agneaux, who was a tenant of William in England, holding land at Ketton in Rutland, and a patron of the convent at Stamford. Another follower and witness of a number of William's charters in Normandy and England was William de Colleville. A Cotentin knight and patron of the abbeys of Hambye and Aunay, he held lands in Lincolnshire and issued charters for Stamford Priory.[20]

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[14] *Southwick* i nos. 8, 68, iii no. 324.
[15] *Southwick* i no. 71. The Neubourg family were lords Le Neubourg in the upper Risle valley, and Annebecq, near Vire, in western Normandy (*RHF* xxiii p. 695).
[16] See *Southwick* i nos. 63, 68, 69, for examples of charters given for Southwick Priory where William and Lucy's sons were present as witnesses.
[17] *Southwick* i nos. 39, 66.
[18] *Mon.* iv pp. 261-2; TNA SC 11/426.
[19] Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', p. 279; *Calvados*, Aunay no. 6, Le Plessis no. 27; *NP* p. 758; *GC* Instr. pp 88-90; *Southwick* i nos. 63, 66, 67, 68, 71, 78, 81; iii nos. 41, 55; BnF ms. lat. 17137 no. 326.
[20] For William de Colleville as a witness of Le Hommet charters, see Coll. Mancel iii p. 1003, V 2420, *Longueville* no. 24; *Southwick* i no. 39. For William's gifts to Norman abbeys, see *Calvados*, Aunay no 74, BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 no. 111. For his gifts to Stamford, see TNA SC 11/426.

William's arrangements for the marriage of his children and grandchildren also reflected his ambition to expand his cross-Channel interests and connections. His daughter Agnes was married to Baldwin Wac, a baron with minor estates in the Cotentin and Guernsey, and a sizeable fief in Lincolnshire and elsewhere.[21] It is likely that William was the instigator of this, and other key marriages involving his children. In the 1180s and 1190s, Baldwin was often in William's entourage when he crossed from Normandy to England, as he witnessed a number of William's charters for Southwick Priory in Hampshire, close to the main ports of entry to England from western Normandy.[22] It is possible that Baldwin also accompanied William on visits to his Lincolnshire estates as his own fief was in the county. William was certainly keen to secure an interest in Baldwin's lands after his death in 1201, when he gave King John 1000 marks to have custody of the lands of his grandson Baldwin II in England and Normandy.[23]

From the late 1190s, as Ranulf III earl of Chester became established as an active and influential baron in the Cotentin, William went to great lengths to establish strong ties with him. In 1199, he probably promoted the marriage of Ranulf to his grand-daughter, Clemencia de Fougères, as he paid King John 200 l. to secure his licence for the marriage. He later ensured the arrangement was not compromised when issues arose with the transfer of Clemencia's lands by the Fougères family to the earl. [24] William gave Ranulf his lands at Auppegard, in the Pays de Caux, until the latter secured possession of the Fougères lands in the valley of Mortain and at Long Bennington in Lincolnshire. This alliance was clearly important to William in maintaining his position in western Normandy, and influence at the Plantagenet court. The importance of this agreement in regional politics is underlined by the local barons and prelates who acted as witnesses, including Fulk Paynel, Hugh de Coulonces, Hasculf de Subligny, Peter de Sainte-Hilaire, the bishop of Coutances and the abbots of Aunay, La Luzerne and Hambye.

[21] See Chapter 2, p. 65.
[22] *Southwick* i nos. 65, 145, nos. 54, App I.
[23] *PR* 3 Joh pp. 22, 23.
[24] *FR* 1 Joh p. 43; TNA PRO D27/26 printed in N. Vincent, 'Twyford under the Bretons 1066–1250', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* xli (1997), p. 96.

William du Hommet died in 1204 and hence left no record of any reaction to the separation of Normandy and England although, given the extent of his cross-Channel interests and attachments, it must have been devastating. The response of his relatives, who held interests in both countries, reflected their dilemma. William's grandson and heir, William II du Hommet, remained in Normandy but probably maintained contact with followers in England. In 1210, a former tenant from Easton in Northamptonshire was accused of taking twenty marks to the king's enemies in Normandy.[25] William's daughter Agnes, widow of Baldwin Wac, remained in England after 1204, and was able to secure possession of her father's land at Winchendon.[26] However, in 1207, her son Baldwin II, who had come of age and been invested with his lands, and John du Hommet, nephew of William I du Hommet, who also had remained in England after 1204, fled to Normandy and both were disseised of their lands by King John.[27]

While the Le Hommet influence and interests were primarily based in Normandy, it is clear that William was striving to establish a cross-Channel dynasty in the tradition of the leading magnates of the Plantagenet court. Although the Le Hommets had no long tradition as barons in England, compared with those families who had been established there for many generations, their cross-Channel identity became well established during the second half of the twelfth century through their long and close association with the Plantagenet king-dukes, and important position in their government.

It is likely that Ralph Taisson's career in ducal service, firstly in the Norman exchequer court and later as seneschal of Normandy under King John, encouraged his interest in England. However, he acquired his main lands there much later than the Le Hommets and left little evidence of direct involvement with them. Ralph made occasional visits to England on royal/ducal business. For example, in 1187-8, he crossed from England to Normandy at royal expense, accompanied by his associate Henry de Tilly, a neighbour in the Bessin and the Cotentin, and holder of a sizeable

[25] Power, 'Aristocratic Acta', p. 270.
[26] *LP* 8 Joh p. 70. In a charter, given after the death of her husband, Agnes confirmed a gift of a tenant at Wichendon to the abbey of Thame (*The Thame Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford, 1947-8), no. 192).
[27] *LP* 8 Joh p. 69.

barony in Devon.[28] Ralph's main interests in England were acquired in 1190-1, as a result of his marriage, probably arranged or approved by King Henry II, to Matilda, daughter and heiress of Enguerran Patric, who held the minor Norman honour of La Lande-Patry and a more substantial barony in Kent.[29] There is little evidence of Ralph's interest in his English lands. The only instance comes from January 1203, in a case of novel disseisin against Robert de Saint-Quentin and Ralph de Neufmarché concerning his lands at Rampton in Nottinghamshire, when he was able to use his position of favour with King John to secure an adjournment until it could be heard by the king in person.[30] Nevertheless, it appears that Ralph was drawn into extending his interests in England through his continuing association with Henry de Tilly, a frequent witness to Ralph's charters for the abbey of Saint-Sauveur.[31] Ralph appears to have acted as Henry's patron. He was present when Henry received an important charter from his lord Robert Bertran, confirming him in his lands at Tilly in the Bessin, and, in 1200, was pledge for the fine Henry made with King John to receive his lands in England and Normandy. After Henry's death in 1203, Ralph secured custody of Henry's heir and lands in England.[32]

Apart from the Tilly connection, Ralph's other main baronial allies were drawn from the loyalist Cotentin aristocracy, reflecting the fact that his career was largely based in the duchy. Ralph's sister Cecily married Fulk I Paynel lord of Hambie, while his other sister Matilda married William de Solier, a minor baron of the Cotentin and patron of Montebourg abbey.[33] Ralph's daughters also married into leading families of the Cotentin and Bessin. Pernella married William, son of Fulk II Paynel. Jeanne married Robert Bertran IV, lord of Bricquebec, and Matilda married Richard de Harcourt.[34] Ralph's charters show that his followers were drawn from the lesser aristocracy near his Norman lands, such as the Prestrevilles, who held lands at Escoguerneville, Robert

[28] *PR* 34 Hen II p. 180. See BnF ms. lat.10087 no. 473 for Henry's property in the Cotentin. The Tilly fief in Devon comprised thirteen and three-quarters knights' fees (*CB* no. XXXIII; *PR* 6 Joh, pp. 88-9).
[29] *Calvados*, Saint-Sauveuer-le-Fontenay no. 28; *RHF* xxiii p. 610; *PR* 3 Ric. I p. 143; *LF* i pp. 32-3, 51, 149, 230, 270, 618. See Chapter 2, p. 58 for the evidence for royal involvement in arranging the marriage.
[30] *LP* 4 Joh p. 24; *Three Rolls of the King's Court, nos.* 14, 1, and 14, 52; *RCR* i p. 93.
[31] *Bricquebec* no. 5; BnF ms. lat. 17137 nos. 20, 24 and 25;
[32] *RN* 5 Joh p. 117. In January 1204, Ralph received the scutage of 22 marks 5 s. collected from the Tilly lands in England (*RL* 5 Joh p. 79).
[33] *NPR* Ric I p. 169; *ISADM* H 9037.
[34] *CN* no. 230; *RJE* no. 137; *Saint-Sauveur*, pp. 36-7.

de Percy, probably from another knightly family of the central Cotentin who appeared in the charters of other families of the area, and members of the Montacute family, from the southern Cotentin.[35] They also included Hugh and Ralph de Clinchamps, who were probably tenants of the earl of Chester at Maiserez, and William Crassus, who may have been the same individual who succeeded Ralph as seneshal of Normandy in September 1203.[36] Ralph's relationship with religious houses also reflected the traditional associations of his family in the duchy. Ralph issued many charters for the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, confirming the gifts of his mother's ancestors, the hereditary vicomtes of the Cotentin. He also made new gifts of his own, such as the grant of the hermitage of Sainte-Marie-de-Colombe, in a charter dating from 1188, the year he took the cross.[37] In another charter for the abbey, witnessed by the abbots of Ardenne and Hambie, he gave tithes in his mills of Treauville.[38] Ralph also took a particular interest in the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-de-Fontenay, a community in the Bessin associated with the family of his wife Matilda de La Lande-Patry. In one of his charters, he gave a quarter of Arondel while, in another charter, Matilda gave land at Mesnil-Patry from her own inheritance.[39] Ralph and Matilda'a patronage extended to many other religious houses of Lower Normandy, including Hambye, Barbery, Savigny, Aunay, and Troarn and the hospital of Coutances.[40]

Ralph Taisson is an example of a baron who acquired cross-Channel interests relatively late, leaving insufficient time for the development of substantial relationships and connections. The English lands of the Patric and Tilly families were relatively valuable and no doubt of significant interest to Ralph, but he acquired them only after 1190, when he probably spent little time in England. He was on crusade with King Richard between 1190 and 1192, and busy in Normandy from 1194, particularly after his appointment as seneschal in 1201. Nevertheless, Ralph's growing interest in England in the final years of the Anglo-Norman realm suggests

[35] *ISADM* H 2394, H 3387; *Saint-Sauveur* nos. 49, 50, 54, 57.
[36] BnF ms. lat. 17137 nos. 23, 24, 25, 31; Coll. Mancel iii p. 1015; CBN iii p. 100; University of Manchester, John Rylands, BMC/79.
[37] *Saint-Sauveur* no. 59.
[38] BnF ms. lat. 17137 no. 25.
[39] *Calvados,* Fontenay nos. 10, 28.
[40] *Saint-Sauveur* p 33 note, no. 54; *Calvados,* Barberie no. 3; *Essai historique sur l'Hôtel-Dieu de Coutances*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Paris, 1896), no. 7; CBN iii p 101; *ISADM* H 112.

that, like many of his loyalist peers among the baronage of the Cotentin, he was interested in expanding his cross-Channel interests.

Fulk I Paynel, lord of Hambye, (died 1182-3) was also part of the close-knit society of the Cotentin and a loyal supporter of the Plantagenet king-dukes. Unlike the Taissons and Le Hommets, however, the Paynels had possessed extensive cross-Channel interests from the eleventh century, but had seen these reduced as a consequence of the civil war in the mid-twelfth century. For a time, Fulk and his brother Hugh were deprived of their English lands. In the settlement of 1153-4, these were then divided between Fulk, Hugh and their half-sister Alice, diminishing the value of the lands held by the Hambye branch of the family, and perhaps weakening the connection with their English tenants.[41] Families that had maintained relationships with Fulk's father William Paynel I before 1153, such as the Stonegraves in North Yorkshire, or Achard the Marshal, a tenant at Drax, no longer appeared as witnesses to Paynel charters in the later twelfth century.[42]

Consequently, Fulk Paynel I based his career in Normandy where he was an active member of baronial society in the Cotentin. He married Lesceline de Subligny, daughter and heiress of Hasculf de Subligny and lady of the Marcey and Grippon honours in the Avranchin, and established connections with many other important families.[43] His eldest son, William II, married Eleanor, daughter of Andrew de Vitry, a baron from the Norman-Breton frontier. Fulk II, younger brother of William, who succeeded in 1184, married Cecily daughter of Jordan Taisson, and later Agatha, daughter of William du Hommet constable of Normandy. Fulk II also maintained the Vitry connection through the marriage of his daughter to Andrew de Vitry, probably in the early thirteenth century.[44] The family also associated with a number of knightly families of the Cotentin, including the Bréhals, Richard de Fontenay, the ducal official, John and Robert de Gavray, and Fulk de Servon.[45]

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[41] See Chapter 2, pp. 55-6 for the division of the lands of the Paynel family in the mid-twelfth century.
[42] *EYC* vi nos. 13, 21, 38, 41.
[43] For the Paynel genealogy in the late twelfth century, see *EYC* vi pp. 5-30 and p. 249 below.
[44] *RJE* no. 90.
[45] *EYC* vi p. 22; BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 nos. 60, 64, 65, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76; EYC vi nos. 4, 21, 25; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Top. Yorks.c.72, fo. 73; ADM H4309 fo. 4d.

The focus of the Paynels on their Cotentin interests was reflected in their relationships with religious institutions. The family continued to support the abbey of Hambye, founded in the 1140s by William Paynel I. An important charter of Fulk Paynel I, dating from mid-century and witnessed by the bishop of Coutances and the abbot of Saint-Lô, confirmed his father's gifts of the tithes of his acquisitions in Normandy and England, and added his own gifts of churches and tithes at Hambye, Bréhal, *Luaineio* and elsewhere in the Cotentin.[46] Later in the century, Lesceline, widow of Fulk I, donated all the churches of her Subligny inheritance in Normandy and England, including Rampton in Nottinghamshire, and Marcey, *Olivum*, Crollon, Subligny, and Grippon in the Avranchin. In a separate charter, she gifted property to the monks' infirmary.[47] Before the death of her eldest son William II, in 1184, she confirmed to Hambye the gifts made by her father Hasculf de Subligny from the lands of her fief in the Avranchin.[48] A later charter of her son Fulk II confirmed the gifts of his ancestors including his father, mother and brother William.[49]

Despite this emphasis on their Norman interests, there is evidence that the Paynels retained an attachment to their lands in England and the family foundation at Drax. There are two charters of Fulk I granting new lands to the priory, and his son Fulk II issued two confirmations for the priory, one dated in 1190.[50] Between 1181 and 1184, William II issued charters concerning the lands of his tenants in Yorkshire, and one in favour of Malton abbey.[51] The Paynels also established connections with other cross-Channel families. In the 1170s and 1180s, Franco de Bohun witnessed a number of charters of Fulk I, his wife Lesceline and their son William II.[52] The relationships of Fulk II with the barons of the Norman-Breton frontier almost certainly brought him into the circle of Ranulf earl of Chester prior to 1204. In 1198, he granted lands in his Subligny inheritance to Roger de Lacy constable of Chester, probably at Earl Ranulf's instigation and, in April 1203, he was suspected by King John of involvement with the earl in a conspiracy, possibly with Breton rebels.[53]

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[46] *GC* Instr. 241; *EYC* vi p. 15; *CDF* no. 913; CBN ii no. 48.
[47] *CDF* no. 915; CBN ii no. 48; BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 no. 67.
[48] BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 no. 74
[49] BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 no. 65
[50] Bodleian MS Top. Yorks.c.72 fos. 1, 2, 5; *EYC* vi nos. 21, 22.
[51] *EYC* vi nos. 4, 25, 27, 43.
[52] Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. franc. 21820, nos.70, 74, 76; *EYC* vi no. 22.
[53] *LP* 4 Joh p. 29; *EYC* vi no. 20. See also Chapter 8, pp. 210-11.

The actions of the Paynels after 1204 reveal a continuing attachment to their cross-Channel interests. Fulk II remained in Normandy but his brothers Hasculf and Thomas Paynel continued to support King John. From 1206, they served alongside Hasculf de Subligny, another Paynel connection, as officials in the Channel Isles.[54] In 1214, these connections with relatives and allies close to King John probably enabled Fulk to seek the recovery of his English lands while the king was in Poitou. The cross-Channel tradition remained strong in the family into the next generation. In 1230, Fulk's son and heir, Fulk III, went to Brittany with his knights to do homage to King Henry III and to encourage him to invade Normandy, presumably as a means of reconstructing his cross-Channel barony.[55] Although evidence of continuous activity by various families on both sides of the Channel may be limited, the separation of Normandy and England in 1204 revealed the strength of family attachments to their lignage as cross-Channel barons.

The Bohons revealed a similarly powerful attachment to their cross-Channel inheritance although, in their case, it was assembled relatively late in the twelfth century. Like the Le Hommets and Taissons, Enjuger I de Bohon was among the Cotentin barons who faithfully served Henry II as duke and, until his death around 1180, his interests were thoroughly Norman.[56] He witnessed charters of other prominent members of the ducal court, such as Richard du Hommet constable of Normandy, Richard de La Haye, Philip bishop of Bayeux, and William de Vernon.[57] Enjuger continued to support the family foundation of the priory of Saint-Georges-de-Bohon. One of his charters recorded gifts for the soul of his wife Matilda, who was buried there, and made provision for a lamp over her tomb.[58] He later granted the priory the right of presentation of the church of Saint-André-de-Bohon. The family

[54] *LC* 8 Joh pp. 70, 81, 9 Joh. p. 93; *EYC* vi pp. 20-1. See also Chapter 8, p. 218 for Fulk Paynels brothers in the service of King John after 1204.
[55] Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum, e*d. F. J. Madden (London, 1866-9), ii p. 325.
[56] See Chapter 2, p. 59 for details of the activities of the Bohon family in ducal service. The date of Enjuger's death is not certain but he witnessed charters of Henry II in the 1170s, and, by 1180, his lands were in ducal custody (*NPR* Hen II p. 28).
[57] Coll. Mancel i p. 73 *Calvados* Le Plessis no. 1363; CBN ii p. 26; *CDF* 968; BnF ms. lat. 10087 no. 183.
[58] Coll. Mancel v pp.. 2411, 2430.

was also a benefactor of a number of other religious houses close to its Cotentin estates, such as the abbeys of Montebourg, Blanchelande, Cerisy and Lessay.[59]

The Bohons had virtually no property in England after the division of the lands between the two branches of the family in the late eleventh century.[60] There is a reference to a charter of Enjuger for Quarr Priory, concerning a gift from his estate on the Isle of Wight.[61] However, in the mid twelfth century, Enjuger formed a connection with a family in England when his sister Muriel married Savaric fitz Cane, lord of Midhurst, a small fief held of the Arundel honour. It was from this marriage that the Bohon lords of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were descended. This alliance was probably formed during the civil war through the connections of William earl of Arundel and his wife Queen Adeliza with the Empress Matilda and her supporters in the Cotentin.[62] Franco de Bohon, the grandson of Muriel and Savaric fitz Cane, emerged as the heir to both Enjuger de Bohon in Normandy, and the Midhurst honour. In the 1170s, Franco and his uncle, Ralph fitz Savaric, witnessed a charter of Enjuger I given in Normandy.[63] After the death of Enjuger I, Franco faced difficulty in securing his inheritance but, by 1189, he had possession of both fiefs, the result of cross-Channel links forged in the previous generation.[64] Franco formed connections in both Normandy and England, witnessing charters of the Paynel family before 1185, and giving lands in Dorset to Waverley Abbey.[65] The death of Franco in 1195, leaving his widow Rohais and young son and heir Enjuger II, disrupted family activities as the lands in England and Normandy were taken into royal custody.[66] However, the subsequent actions of Rohais demonstrated the important role played by widows and mothers in the preservation of the cross-Channel interests of their families. In 1195, she fined with King Richard to secure custody of the family's Norman lands, and later defended these interests in the ducal court to maintain the

[59] *RAH* nos. 34, 332, 679; BnF ms. lat. 10087 no. 472.
[60] See Chapter 2, p. 59 for the division of the Bohon lands in the late eleventh century.
[61] *The Charters of Quarr Abbey* ed. S. F. Hockey (Newport, 1991), no. 124.
[62] Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Anglo-Normande et 1204', pp. 182-3, and 'Queen Adeliza and the Lotharingian Connection', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 140 (2002), p. 60-1.
[63] Coll. Mancel v p. 2417
[64] See Chapter 2, p. 60.
[65] *EYC* vi no. 22; *CDF* no. 915; CBN ii no. 48; *RC* 7 Joh p. 161.
[66] For references to the lands in royal custody see *PR* 6 Ric I p. 8; *NPR* Ric I p. 119 and *MRSN* ii pp. 242, 243,276.

integrity of her son's inheritance against a legal challenge by Ralph of Arden.[67] Enjuger II remained in England after 1204 but continued to identify with Normandy, where the lost barony of Bohon gave him the status of a tenant-in-chief. He received lands from King John in Guernsey, in compensation for his Norman lands, and in 1214, was appointed by the king as one of his marshals of Normandy, in preparation for either the campaign on the continent in that year, or the king's projected crusade.[68]

Other 'Norman' Families and their Connections

Two important Cotentin families, the Bertrans and Vernons, did little to acquire significant lands in England but provide an interesting contrast in terms of the extent of their cross-Channel attachments. There is little trace of any activity by the Bertrans concerning their minor lands in Suffolk, apart from two cases heard before royal justices in 1199, over the patronage of various churches on their estates.[69] Even their connections with their lordship in the Cotentin were limited. Only one of their tenants, Ralph de Bricquebec, can be found witnessing their charters, while others, such as Richard Bacon, appeared as followers of other lords such as Nigel de Mowbray, the earl of Chester, or Richard de Fontenay.[70] The evidence suggests that Robert Bertran IV (died 1202) paid greater attention to his lands in the Pays d'Auge, and the valuable port of Honfleur. Most of his regular followers were drawn from this area, including the knights William d'Angerville, a Bertran tenant near Dozulé (Calvados), and William de Blosseville, who held two knights' fees of the Bertrans at Glatigné near Pont L'Évêque, and the serjeants Herbert and Hugh de Barneville, of Barneville-le-Bertran.[71] The Bertrans left no trace of any family aspiration or political ambition beyond their lands in the Pays d'Auge, and showed no inclination to develop their minor interests in England.

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[67] *NPR* Ric I pp. 119, 141. See also E. V. H. Van Houts, 'The Memory of 1066 in Written and Oral Tradition', *ANS* xix (1997), pp. 167-79, and *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*, (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 123-42 for the important role played by women in the preservation of family memory.
[68] *RC* 14 Joh p.192; *LC* 14 Joh p. 164; N. Vincent, 'A Nun's Tale: the Foundation of Easebourne Priory (1216-1240)', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* cxlvii (2009), p. 113.
[69] *RCR* i pp. 310, and 402.
[70] *Bricquebec* nos. 3, 4, 5, 14; *RHF* xxiii p. 60. See p. 112 below for the activities of Richard Bacon with the Mowbrays. For Richard de Fontenay's career in the ducal administration, see *MRSN* ii pp. 506, 515, 531.
[71] *Bricquebec* nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 10.

Similarly, Richard de Vernon's main preoccupation, in the later twelfth century, was his lands outside the Cotentin, centred on his castelry of Vernon in the Seine valley.[72] Many of the tenants witnessed his charters in the 1180s and 1190s, including Matthew de Crevequor, steward of Richard, and members of the Blarru, Oriel, Portus and Postel families.[73] Richard's gift to the abbey of Vaux de Cernai, granted around 1185, was made at the house of Ivo de Crevequor in Vernon.[74] He drew on the valuable tolls and other dues collected as a basis for endowments and grants to religious houses across eastern Normandy. In the later twelfth century, the collegiate church of Notre-Dame de Vernon was an important recipient but many other churches, such as Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Bonport, Vaux-de-Cernai, Saint-Georges de Boscherville, La Valasse and Evreux, were given revenues, property or exemption from tolls at Vernon. [75] This extensive patronage suggests it was his valuable fief at Vernon, rather than his Cotentin lands, that gave Richard the wealth and status of a leading baron of Normandy. Consequently, it was his desire to retain Vernon that almost certainly undermined his loyalty to the Plantagenet king-dukes, inducing him to collude with King Philip of France during his invasion of Normandy in 1193.

Between 1189 and 1204, there is no evidence that Richard, or his son Richard II, who probably succeeded in 1196, had any contact with other Cotentin baronial families. In the previous generation, the family had been part of the close-knit society of the Cotentin, and linked with barons such as Enjuger de Bohon and Richard de La Haye.[76] Although Richard II de Vernon was married to Lucy, daughter of William du Hommet, it is likely the Vernons were isolated from the baronial community of the Cotentin, after 1193, because of their disloyalty to King Richard. It was only after 1204 that they began to play a prominent role again in the baronial community when,

[72] See Chapter 2, pp. 46 and 64-5 for a description of the Vernon properties in Normandy.
[73] *Bonport* no. 11; *Vaux de Cernai* nos. 75, 76; *Saint-Georges*, Extraits pp. 4-5; *Jumièges* no. 114. *RHF* xxiii p. 622.
[74] *Vaux de Cernai* no 76.
[75] *Jumièges* no. 114; *Saint-Wandrille* no. 113; *Bonport* no 11; *Eure* iii no. 355; *Vaux de Cernai* nos. 75 and 76*; Saint-Georges* (extraits) p. 4-5; ADSM 18 HP 28; *CN* no. 1060.
[76] See for example *ISADM* p. 18; BnF ms. lat. 10087 no. 183.

between 1204 and 1206, Richard II de Vernon acted as one of the pledges for William du Hommet's fine to secure his loyalty to King Philip.[77]

While isolated from the baronage of the Cotentin before 1204, the Vernons continued to maintain an interest in their Cotentin estates. The abbey of Montebourg was a particularly important recipient of their patronage. Richard I de Vernon gave Montebourg property in Oglandes and Gouberville, and rights at Longeville. In 1196, during a visit to the isle of Sark, he confirmed his father's gift to the abbey of the church and mill of Saint-Magloire Sark, and added his own gift of 30s from his rents on the island.[78] Richard also made a grant to the abbey of Cherbourg of property at *Guerevilla*, Varreville, Flamenville, Anderville, and elsewhere in the northern Cotentin. The charter was witnessed by Richard abbot of Montebourg and Robert the prior.[79] The followers of Richard de Vernon who witnessed these acts were drawn mainly from his Cotentin tenants, including Herbert de Morville, Richard's steward on the Isle of Sark and a tenant at Morville, William de Goe, Ralph de Gorges, William Oglanders, Richard de Osouville, and Herbert de *Monasteriis*.[80] However, Richard's difficulties with the Plantagenets may have encouraged other tenants, particularly those involved with the ducal administration, to detach themselves from his circle. The most notable example was the Reviers family, probably related to the Vernons, which held two and a half fees of the Néhou honour at Amfreville, Etienville and Picauville.[81] Family members had been regular witnesses of the charters of William de Vernon earlier in twelfth century but appeared in none of the charters of his son Richard.[82] Instead, they took service with the king-dukes. In 1202-3, Richard de Reviers was responsible for the farms of Cherbourg and Valognes, and his sons, Baldwin and William, who were also in ducal service, witnessed many

[77] *CN* no. 204. Other pledges for William's fine included the bishop of Lisieux, Thomas and Engueran du Hommet, Fulk Paynel, John de Préaux and Robert de Thibouville.
[78] BnF ms. lat. 10087 nos. 148, 186; *Cartulaire des Iles Normands*, Societé Jersaire (Jersey, 1918-24), nos. 307/308; CBN ii p. 186.
[79] *CDF* no. 941; CBN i pp. 106-8.
[80] *CDF* no. 890; *Cartulaire des Iles Normands*, nos. 307, 308; *RHF* xxiii p. 609. For the Morvilles as a witness of Richard de Vernon's charters, see ADC F 5690, fo. 81v.
[81] *RHF* xxiii p. 609; *ISADM* H 1380, H 9503.
[82] *MRSN* ii pp. 508, 573; *RN* 4 Joh p. 71. BnF ms. lat. 10087 nos. 145, 146; ADC F 5690 fo. 81v.

charters of William du Hommet, suggesting they had moved into the circle of the loyalist barons.[83]

Despite these extensive connections and interests in Normandy, the Vernons continued to maintain a close relationship with their English relatives, the earls of Devon, throughout the later twelfth century. Richard de Vernon witnessed a number of charters of the earls, while his cousin William, the younger son of Baldwin de Reviers earl of Devon, witnessed a number of Richard's charters in Normandy.[84] William may well have spent time in Vernon as a boy, almost certainly under the tutelage of his Vernon relatives.[85] Even though the English branch of the family had retained the Reviers surname, William adopted the Vernon surname and continued to use it after he became earl of Devon in 1191. Various English tenants and officials of Earl William had connections with the Vernons in Normandy. By 1191, William Avenal was the earl's private sheriff on the Isle of Wight but he, and other members of his family, appeared regularly in the charters of the Norman Vernon family and were patrons of Montebourg.[86] Later, in the 1190s, William was seneschal of John count of Mortain, when both Richard de Vernon and earl William were probable supporters of the count in the 1190s.[87] By 1200, William Avenal had been succeeded as the earl's sheriff by Walter de L'Isle, who also witnessed a charter of Richard de Vernon for Montebourg, and a charter of Richard's daughter, Margaret, in England after 1204.[88] Other followers of the Vernons in Normandy, such as the Oglanders and Morvilles, shared the same surname as tenants of the Reviers earls in England, suggesting they sprang from different branches of the same family. Herbert de Morville, Richard's seneschal on Sark, held land at Portbury in Somerset, which was seized as *terra Normannorum* in 1204.[89]

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[83] *CDF* no. 840; CBN iii 86; *Calvados,* Aunay no. 11; ADC H 912; *Calvados*, Le Plessis no. 1384.
[84] *Redvers* no. 68, App. no. 21; BnF ms. lat.10087 nos. 151, 186.
[85] See *Mon*. v p. 381 (*Vernonae scholaris fuerat*). See also *Redvers* pp. 13-14.
[86] BnF ms. lat. 10087 nos. 145, 271, 439, 456, 467, 576.
[87] See Chapter 7, pp. 182-3 for the political alignment of the Vernon-Reviers family with Count John.
[88] *Redvers* p. 40 and no. 123; BnF ms. lat. 10087 no. 148; *Christchurch* no. 418.
[89] *RN* 5 Joh p. 104.

These significant cross-Channel connections between the families of Vernon and Reviers acquired a political dimension in 1193-4, when both families probably collaborated in supporting King Philip of France and John count of Mortain. Similarly, during the period 1203-4, the close family connections were evident when Earl William sought to preserve the English lands and interests of the Vernons and other baronial allies.[90] Richard II de Vernon's sister Margaret appeared in England in 1200, when she received letters of protection from King John, possibly a favour by the king for the family of an old supporter. In 1202-3, she made a favourable marriage with John Arsic, a tenant-in-chief with lands in Oxfordshire, Kent and Lincolnshire.[91] In this year, the Norman lands of her brother Richard de Vernon were once again seized by King John, after Richard defected to King Philip. However, King John allowed John Arsic to recover the Vernon lands at Freshwater (Isle of Wight), on Margaret's behalf, through the payment of a fine.[92] By 1205, John Arsic was dead but William earl of Devon continued to look after Margaret's interests. She subsequently married John Buzun, a tenant of William, and the earl witnessed her charters concerning the lands at Freshwater. This closely parallels the behaviour of the family in the previous generation, when Norman and English branches maintained close contact during a previous period of political disruption due to the civil war of the 1140s. The example of the Reviers-Vernons demonstrates the resilience of cross-Channel family networks throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[93]

The major English landholders and their connections in the Cotentin

The attachment of a number of Norman families from the Cotentin to their interests and connections in England is paralleled by the baronial families of the Cotentin whose main lands were in England. In most cases, they left evidence of a continuing attachment to their Norman inheritance, perhaps reflecting emotional ties to places and communities that had particular significance. The Mowbrays maintained an active interest in their modest Norman estates, until the death of Nigel de Mowbray in 1191.

[90] William earl of Devon also sought to preserve the English lands of his father-in-law Robert count of Meulan (*Redvers* p. 25).
[91] *RC* 1 Joh p. 59; *Redvers* p. 151; *RB* ii pp. 303-4; *CB* no. CXXII; *PR* 6 Ric I pp. 94, 119; 8 Ric I, pp. 74, 247, 287, 288; *PR* 5 Joh pp. 26, 101, 192,
[92] *Redvers*, p. 17 and charter nos. 121, 122, 123, and 125.
[93] See Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 116 for the close connections maintained between English and Norman branches of the Reviers-Vernon family in the mid-twelfth century.

He was a patron of Norman churches, giving tithes and lands to the abbey of Saint-André-en-Gouffern, close to the Mowbray lands of Villers-Canivet, and to the abbey of Villers-Canivet, founded by Nigel's father Roger de Mowbray.[94] Nigel also made gifts to the hospital at Falaise and to the hermitage of La Colombe, close to his lands at Montbray in the southern Cotentin, giving them lands at Margueray (Manche, Percy) with the consent of his wife Mabel.[95]

Nigel maintained close connections with local aristocratic society in Normandy. His marriage to Mabel, daughter of William Patric, lord of Patrixbourne in Kent, was almost certainly based on connections in Normandy where William's fief of La Lande-Patry lay close to the Mowbray lands of Villers-Canivet.[96] Before his death in 1191, Nigel probably arranged the marriages of his young children. While his son and heir, William, married Avice, daughter of William earl of Arundel, his daughter married Enguerrand du Hommet, the son of William constable of Normandy. Enguerrand was a tenant of the Montbray honour in the early thirteenth century, holding two knights' fees, which may have been granted as part of the marriage agreement.[97]

Nigel's retinue had an important cross-Channel dimension and included tenants of his Norman and English honours. The Normans who were often present with him included Richard Bacon, a tenant of Montbray in Normandy, and William Malherbe, who held one and a quarter fees at *Nouvi* and Bazoches. Both witnessed a number of Nigel's charters for English and Norman recipients.[98] Roger de Saint-Martin, a regular presence in Nigel's court, may have possessed interests in both England and Normandy. The family held two knights' fees in Lincolnshire in 1166 and, in the later twelfth century, Roger gave lands at Equerdreville to the abbey of Cherbourg.[99] These individuals appeared alongside followers from the Mowbray's English estates, including the steward Ralph de Belvoir, Hamo Beler, Hugh Malebisse and Robert de

[94] *Mowbray* nos. 163, 164, 165, 280.
[95] *Mowbray* no. 76; BnF ms. lat. 17137 no. 253; *RC* 1 Joh p. 5
[96] See Chapter 2 pp. 50-1.
[97] *RHF* xxiii p. 619. Enguerrand was probably the younger son of William du Hommet the constable, and appears with his father as a witness in charters in the late 1190s (for example, see *ISADM* H 21; *Southwick* i p. 138).
[98] *RHF* xxiii p. 619; *Mowbray* nos. 76, 164, 165, 169, 263, 277, 342, 344, 361.
[99] *Mowbray* p. 263, nos. 71, 72, 169, 342, 344 361; *ISADM* H 2585.

Daiville, who was constable and a constant companion of both Nigel de Mowbray and his father Roger.[100] Although Roger took the leading role for the family in England until his departure to the Holy Land in 1186, Nigel maintained contact with the English estates. He held estates in his own right at Melton Mowbray, Brinklow and Axeholme, where he issued charters during his father's lifetime, and acquired English lands at Banstead in Surrey, as part of his wife Mabel's marriage portion.[101] He issued many charters of confirmation for religious houses in England, and made gifts of his own to the hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, and Combe Abbey in Warwickshire.[102]

The active cross-Channel lordship exercised by Nigel was abruptly terminated by his death on crusade in 1191, leaving his young son William as heir. Although William came of age in 1194, he may not have been present to exercise his lordship until 1196-7, as he was probably in Germany as a hostage for King Richard.[103] Consequently, there are few surviving charters issued by William in the period before 1204, and most are confirmations of the gifts of his father and grandfather to the abbeys of Rievaulx, Combe, and Newburgh, and St Leonard's Hospital York. Only in the case of Newburgh did he add his own gifts of rents at Thirsk and Kirkby Malzeard.[104] These charters show William in the company of representatives of the English families associated with his father, such as the seneschal Roger de Daiville and William de Buscy, and other individuals from his English lands.[105] There is no evidence of any relationship with his Norman tenants, and no extant charters of William for the Norman religious houses patronised by his father. This was perhaps a consequence of the short period he had control of his Norman lands before they were lost in 1204. Nevertheless, William maintained contact with his Norman relatives. William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, and father-in-law of William de Mowbray's sister, was one of the sureties for his fine of 2000 marks, made with King

[100] For Ralph de Belvoir, see *Mowbray* pp. xxxix, lxiii and nos. 57, 72, 80 for examples of him as a witness, and *Mowbray* p. ix for Robert de Daiville. For Hamo Beler and Hugh Malebisse, see *Mowbray* nos. 25, 29, 52 ,76, 164, 165.
[101] *Mowbray* nos. 29, 329, 260-1, 266-7; *Mon*. vi p. 169.
[102] *Mowbray* nos. 25, 29, 88.
[103] William was charged £100 for his relief in 1194, suggesting this was the year he was formally invested with his lands (*PR* 6 Ric I p. 160).
[104] *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Society lxxxiii (Durham, 1887), p. 265; *Mon.* v p. 582, vi pp. 318, 611.
[105] *Mon.* vi p. 318.

John in 1200 to obtain justice in his case against the Stutevilles.[106] In addition, his younger brother Robert maintained contact with the Mowbray lands and tenants in Normandy after 1204. Robert was a clerk and, between 1207-9, made an agreement in the court of Walter archbishop of Rouen with the abbot of Le Tréport over certain tithes and customs of the church of Bazoches.[107] Robert had probably been granted the living at Bazoches, a former Mowbray estate, by either his father or older brother. The witness list for Robert's charter includes William Bacon and Hugh Livet, both former Norman tenants and associates of the Mowbray lords.

The history of the Mohuns followed a similar course to that of the Mowbrays. The family maintained connections and interests on both sides of the Channel until the death, in 1193, of William IV de Mohun, who left two young sons, William and Reginald, as his heirs.[108] The main focus of the charitable activities of William and his predecessors was the priory of Bruton, located near their extensive Somerset estates, but there was a cross-Channel dimension to this patronage. A number of gifts to the priory were of property in Normandy, such as that of William III of the church and other property in Lions-sur-Mer.[109] After 1177, William IV made a further gift, following the death of his brother Thomas, of the churches of Moyon and Taissy on his estates in the Cotentin.[110] In the 1180s, William IV also made a number of gifts to religious communities in Normandy, including the abbey of La Luzerne, close to his Cotentin honour of Moyon.[111] Various of his charters for the abbey were given at Montchaton, near Coutances, in a large gathering of local men including William de Saint-Jean, Thomas d'Argences, a number of Moyon tenants, and the abbots of Blanchelande and Saint-Lô. The gifts included tithes of the mills on his Norman lands, and made provision for his anniversary and for the soul of his mother Godeheut, suggesting a continuing family attachment to the abbey. William also made a gift to the abbey of Saint-Lô of the right of advowson in his church of Maisnil Opac.[112]

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[106] *FR* 2 Joh p. 102.
[107] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Michel du Tréport*, P. P. Laffleur de Kermaingant (Paris, 1880), nos. 82, 90, 91.
[108] See *NPR* Ric I pp. 78-9 for the Mohun Norman lands in royal custody in 1194-5.
[109] *CDF* nos. 487.
[110] *CDF* nos. 493, 504; CBN iii no. 368.
[111] *CDF* nos. 780, 781, 782.
[112] CBN ii p 85; *CDF* no. 912.

The charters of William III and William IV reveal a similar cross-Channel dimension in their relationships with the lay aristocracy of their lordships, prior to the death of William IV in 1193. They were often accompanied by their Norman tenants, including Henry Corbet and his brother William, who witnessed charters of William IV, and are almost certainly from the family that held two thirds of a knight's fee at Moyon in the early thirteenth century.[113] Ralph de Periers, who witnessed a number of charters of William III and IV, was probably a Norman tenant and father of Thomas de Periers, who became a ducal official. In 1198, he accounted for the knight service of the honour at the Norman exchequer.[114] Various English tenants also witnessed their charters, such as Robert Fitz Richard, the seneschal of William III and William IV, who was given land in the honour of Dunster prior to 1193, and Henry de Aule, a tenant in Devon.[115] Hugh and William de Pontchardon were also regular witnesses of the charters of William III and IV. Their surname suggests the family originated near Vimoutiers, close to the Norman lands of the Courtenay lords of Okehampton in Devon.[116]

The minority of William IV's heirs, after his death in 1193, disrupted these cross-Channel connections.[117] The lands in both England and Normandy were taken into royal/ducal custody and, by the time his surviving son Reginald came of age in 1205, the Norman estates had been lost. Nevertheless, the strong family attachment to their Norman lands, and the important role of female family members in maintaining these connections, is revealed in the actions of William's widow, Lucy de Mohun. In 1198, she fined with the king to gain custody of Moyon, the main centre of the Norman

[113] *CDF* no. 493; Bruton nos. 6, 73; *RHF* xxiii p. 619.
[114] Bruton nos. 5, 66, 69, 71, 75. For Thomas de Periers' activities as a ducal administrator of the honour of Moyon and other escheats, see *NPR* Ric I pp. 134, 135, 271; *MRSN* ii pp. 515, 521.
[115] *CDF* no. 505, Bruton nos. 6, 7, 73. For the grant of lands in the honour of Dunster, see *FR* 2 Joh p. 135. Bruton nos. 6, 7, 73, 245; For Henry de Aule's fee in Devon, see *LF* ii pp. 769, 781, and as a witness, see Bruton nos. 6, 7, 73 and *CDF* nos. 493, 505.
[116] For examples of charters witnessed by the Pontchardons, see *CDF* nos. 487, 493, 495, Bruton nos. 1, 4 and 6. Pontchardon (Eure, Vimoutiers) is close to the honour of Le Sap and Meules, originally lands of a collateral branch of the Clare family. By the late twelfth century, they had passed to Robert de Courtenay (Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 70; *RB* i pp. 251-4.)
[117] In the third scutage for the army of Normandy, collected in 1196, the sheriff of Somerset accounted for the fief of William de Mohun (*PR* 8 Ric I p. 227), and, in 1195, the Norman honour of Moyon had been in the custody of William de Saint-Jean the previous year (*NPR* Ric I, p. 78)

barony, and continued to account for the farm at the Norman Exchequer until 1203, reflecting a continuing attachment to their main residence in the duchy.[118] Lucy also secured possession of various lands of William in England as she accounted for seven knights' fees in the scutage of 1200-1.[119] In 1200-3, she brought a plea before the Norman Exchequer against Thomas de Periers for a default (*defectu*), which may refer to an aspect of his administration of the Moyon honour. These efforts by Lucy to maintain a degree of control over the family lands, including the old family seat in Normandy at Moyon, reflects the earlier interest shown by her husband in his Norman estates and tenants, and the continuing importance of their cross-Channel interests.[120]

Since the earls of Arundel held only modest estates in the Cotentin, it is not surprising that the bulk of the evidence, revealing their connections and interests, relates to England, where they were one of the leading baronial families.[121] Their followers were drawn from their English tenants, including the Aguillon family, that held three knights' fees of the honour of Arundel in Sussex, and witnessed many of the earls' charters, and members of the Millières family, who were stewards of Earl William I.[122] The earls' patronage of churches primarily concerned communities in England, particularly those near their estates in Norfolk and Sussex. The abbey of Wymondham in Norfolk was particularly important. It was founded by Earl William I's father in 1107, and became the burial place for all the earls of Arundel until the late thirteenth century. Earl William I made a number of gifts to the abbey, and to the other family foundation at Old Buckenham, the caput of their Norfolk lands.[123] The earls frequently had custody of the honour of Arundel during the twelfth century, and consequently developed relationships with churches in Sussex. The priory of Boxgrove received a number of gifts during this period.[124]

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[118] *NPR* Ric I p. 133; *MRSN* ii pp. 515, 522.
[119] *PR* 4 Joh p. 100; *LP* 6 Joh p 44.
[120] *PR* 4 Joh p. 100; *LP* 6 Joh p. 44. The Norman lands were still in royal custody in January 1203, when they were given to Hubert de Burgh (*RN* 4 Joh p. 680).
[121] See Chapter 2 p. 49.
[122] *LF* ii p. 689; *CDF* no. 965; CBN i no. 124; Boxgrove nos. 39, 40; Lewes ii p. 66; *Southwick* iii no. 85; *ISADM* H 9400; Bruton nos. 337, 338; *Mon.* iii p. 22, iv p. 419.
[123] *Mon.* iii pp. 332, 327. Ralph de Diceto records the death of Earl William I at Waverley, and subsequent burial at Wymondham (*Diceto* i, p. 415). See *Mon.*vi p. 419 for records of gifts to Old Buckenham.
[124] Boxgove nos. 39, 40, 42.

Throughout the later twelfth century, the earls were loyal supporters of the Plantagenet king-dukes and were often present with them in Normandy. Despite the emphasis on their personal interests in England, this regular presence in the duchy probably encouraged them to maintain links with their Cotentin lordship of Aubigny and the old family interests there. They made a series of gifts to the abbeys of Montebourg, Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, Lessay and Blanchelande, and to the cathedral church of Coutances. For example, before 1193, Earl William II gave the church of Saint-Aubin d'Aubigny to Blanchelande, and made a gift from his rents at Saint-Nazaire to support the maintenance of a light at the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le Vicomte.[125] He also gave the tithes of his mills at Ham to the abbey of Montebourg for the souls of King Henry II, and his mother and father.[126] Before 1185, his son, the future William III, was present in Normandy at a final concord between the abbey and Richard de Brucourt over the mill of Morsalines.[127] After 1193, Earl William III issued a charter for Lessay, confirming the extensive gifts of his ancestors and tenants. In July 1202, he secured custody of the heir and land of *Kanelaw*, that was part of his Cotentin fief, demonstrating his continuing interest in his Norman lands.[128]

The earls continued to maintain relationships with other baronial families of the Cotentin. Olivia, the sister of Earl William II, was married to Ralph de la Haye, lord of Le Plessis. On their wedding day, William confirmed Ralph's gift of the church of Bilsington (Kent), probably part of Olivia's dowry, to the abbey of Lessay.[129] Various connections of the earls were associated with the ducal administration. In 1195, Ralph Taisson was a pledge of Earl William III for his debts at the Norman exchequer.[130] Robert de Tresgoz, an important ducal official in this period and holder of offices in the Cotentin, held a number of estates in England, including lands in the honour of Arundel. In Normandy, he was lord of the small fief of Troisgots, close to the earl's Cotentin estates, and benefactor of the abbey of Hambye.[131] Robert and his family

[125] *ISADM* H 571; *CDF* no. 987; CBN iii no. 38.
[126] BnF ms. lat. 10087 no. 136
[127] BnF ms. lat. 10087 no. 382. John de Brucourt held a knight's fee in the Cotentin, probably of the duke, in the 1220s (*RHF* xxiii p.608).
[128] CBN ii nos. 61-2 (also Boxgrove no. 41); *RN* 4 Joh p. 55.
[129] Boxgrove no. 39.
[130] *NPR* Ric I p. 4.
[131] *RHF* xxiii pp. 612, 696; *LF* i p. 74. *ISADM* p.31 H 4561. Robert de Tresgoz held the farms of Cherbourg, Valognes and Barfleur under King Richard (*NPR* Ric I pp. 116, 267, 268).

witnessed a number of the earls' charters for recipients on both sides of the Channel, including a charter of Earl William II for Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte.[132] The important position of the earls of Arundel at the Plantagenet court, coupled with a continuing attachment to their ancestral lands, probably sustained their connections with important families and communities of the Cotentin until the loss of Normandy in 1204.

Political alignment with the Plantagenet king-dukes was also a factor in the increasing engagement of Ranulf III earl of Chester in affairs in Normandy and Brittany, from the mid 1190s onwards. In Ranulf's case, he already possessed extensive interests in western Normandy but, as with other cross-Channel barons such as William Marshal and Roger de Mortemer, the growing political importance of the defence of the duchy made this a fruitful area for expanding his influence and wealth. These developments were important for the strengthening of cross-Channel interests in the Cotentin, as Ranulf was probably the wealthiest baron in England and carried significant influence within the baronage there. This is evident from the marriages of three of his sisters, in the 1190s, to other prominent families of the English Midlands. In August 1190, his eldest sister Matilda married David earl of Huntingdon, younger son of the king of Scotland and an important member of the Plantagenet court, while Agnes, the second eldest, was married to William de Ferrers earl of Derby in 1192.[133] His youngest sister Hawise was married, in 1199-1200, to Robert de Quincy, eldest son of Saer de Quincy and Margaret de Beaumont, who was the sister and heiress of Robert earl of Leicester.[134] There are also many charters of Earl Ranulf demonstrating his active lordship across his vast English estates. They provide evidence of his relationships with his officials and the local communities of his lands, particularly in his county of Cheshire, and extensive estates in the Midlands and Lincolnshire. Ranulf was a benefactor of many religious communities, particularly the abbey of St Werburgh's in Chester, and churches in Lincolnshire and the Midlands.[135]

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[132] *CDF* no. 987; CBN iii p. 38; Boxgrove no. 42.
[133] *Chester* nos. 220, 263, 264, 308.
[134] *Chester* no. 308.
[135] See for example *Chester* nos. 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 264, 278, 288. See also Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester*, pp. 37-51 who, perhaps unfairly, regarded Earl Ranulf as a rather mean patron of churches.

Nevertheless, from the very start of his career, when he came of age in 1187, Ranulf's Plantagenet lords encouraged him to develop his interests on the continent. In early 1189, King Henry II arranged his marriage to Constance duchess of Brittany, widow of the king's son Geoffrey. Both Henry, and subsequently King Richard, probably regarded Ranulf as their principal ally on the Breton-Norman frontier during the wars with the king of France.[136] Such considerations, and Ranulf's own ambitions, led him to establish alliances with many barons of western Normandy. As we have seen, Ranulf maintained connections with William du Hommet and his associate Baldwin Wac.[137] Hugh de Coulonces, a minor baron, holding two knights' fees near Vire and the earl's own honour of Saint-Sever, moved into Ranulf's circle witnessing many of his charters. [138] In February 1203, Hugh took over custody of Avranches and Pontorson, on behalf of King John, after they were temporarily removed from Ranulf's custody.[139] The Norman-Breton family of the Sublignys, with many connections to the nobility of the Cotentin and Avranchin, was part of Earl Ranulf's circle prior to 1204. Both John de Subligny and his son Hasculf witnessed the earl's charters and held lands of him at Petras.[140] Hasculf became lord of Dol in the early thirteenth century but crossed to England, probably in early 1206, and subsequently appeared in the earl's retinue.[141] Members of the Saint-Hilaire family, whose lands lay close to the Breton frontier and the earl's castle of Saint-James de Beuvron, were associates of Earl Ranulf in Normandy. Between 1198 and 1200, Peter de Saint-Hilaire witnessed three of his charters, while Frederick Malesmains, who was married to Jeanne, the heiress of the main Saint-Hilaire family line, witnessed a number of Ranulf's charters between 1200 and 1203.[142] Frederick's role as a ducal offical in the region may have been useful to the earl as, in 1198, he was the prévot of Pontorson and, between 1202 and 1203, was active in the service of King John in the county of Mortain.[143] Ranulf was also able to establish in the region an important ally from

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[136] See Chapter 7, pp. 189-92.
[137] *CDF* no. 749; *Calvados,* Longues no. 4. *Chester* nos. 220, 259 and 289. For Baldwin Wac's relationship with William du Hommet see p. 99 above.
[138] *RPA* p. 285; *Chester* nos. 253, 279, 318, 319.
[139] *LP* 4 Joh p. 25 and *RN* 4 Joh p. 88.
[140] *Chester* nos. 206, 279; *RHF* xxiii p. 620.
[141] *Chester* nos. 351, 371. For the genealogy of the Subligny family see Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 518-9. See also p. 105 above for the career of Hasculf after 1204, in service with King John, alongside other Cotentin barons.
[142] *Chester* nos. 254, 279, 318, 324, 333. See also Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 516
[143] *NPR* Ric I p. 128; *LP* 3 Joh pp. 8, 26.

England. Roger constable of Chester and, from 1194, lord of the Lacy honour of Pontefract, was the earl's most important English tenant and honorial official, witnessing many of his charters.[144] In 1198, Roger secured recognition of his claim to the Avranchin fief of Valle de Seye, held of the honour of Fulk Paynel and his wife Lesceline.[145] Earl Ranulf appeared at the head of the witness list to the agreement and almost certainly engineered the grant. The following year, Ranulf's marriage to Clemencia de Fougères, from an important Norman-Breton family, resulted in his acquisition of many of the Fougères lands in the Mortain valley.[146]

Ranulf 's growing influence in the region was also demonstrated by the presence in his retinue of a number of Norman followers drawn from the knightly classes, including tenants of other lords. Peter Ruauld and Juhel de Louvigny were particularly active on the earl's behalf in this period, but there is no evidence that either was originally his tenant. Peter was a tenant of the Mowbray honour in Normandy, holding half a knight's fee according to the thirteenth century surveys.[147] Prior to 1204, both men witnessed many charters of Ranulf and, before 1198, were granted lands by the earl at Tallevende, and other locations close to Saint-Sever. Peter Ruauld was also granted lands in the duchy by Ralph de Montalt, the earl's seneschal.[148] It is likely that both were drawn into Ranulf's service in the 1190s, by the potential rewards on offer from a powerful baron in western Normandy. For example, in November 1203, Peter was given letters of protection by King John while he was in the earl's service in Normandy.[149] These men complemented the more established members of the earl's followers, some of whom had cross-Channel interests of their own, such as his seneschal Ralph de Montalt, who was a tenant of the earl in England and held lands in Normandy, near the earl's caput of Saint-

[144] *PR* 7 Ric I p. 99. The honour of Pontefract comprised more than 81 knights' fees in 1166 (*RB* ii pp. 431-4). As constable of Chester, Roger held the barony of Halton in Cheshire, which comprised eight knights' fees (J. Tait, 'Knight Service in Cheshire', *EHR*, lvii (1942), p. 439). The constables may have held a further ten fees of the earl in Lincolnshire (see *Chester* no. 440 and Barraclough's notes on the charter).
[145] *EYC* vi p. 22 and no. 20.
[146] *Chester* no. 318.
[147] *RHF* xxiii p. 619.
[148] For the various grants of land see *NPR* Ric I p. 288; and as witnesses of the earl's charters in Normandy and England see *Chester* nos. 224, 225, 253, 254 279, 319, 333.
[149] *LP* 5 Joh p. 36.

Sever.[150] Both Ralph, and Philip Orreby, another seneschal, regularly accompanied the earl in Normandy.[151] Ranulf de Praers, was prévot of Saint-James and Avranches for Hugh earl of Chester, and custodian of Ranulf's Norman lands during his minority. He subsequently appeared regularly with the earl in Normandy and England.[152] Various members of Ranulf's Norman retinue also accompanied him in England. For example, between 1198 and 1203, the witnesses of an act given at Great Tew included his Norman followers Peter Ruauld, Juhel de Louvigny and Bartholomew l'Abbé.[153] One particular charter reflects the cross-Channel character of Earl Ranulf's court in Normandy, in the years before 1204. It was given in his Christmas court of 1198, held at his castle of Saint-James-de-Beuvron on the Norman-Breton border, and records a large gathering of his cross-Channel household, including Philip de Orreby, Peter Ruauld, Ranulf de Praers, and Juhel de Louvigny, and representatives of the local aristocracy, such as Hugh and Thomas de Colunces, Peter de Saint-Hilaire and John Paynel.[154] Another favoured residence of the earl lay at Martilly, where Ranulf issued three charters prior to 1204. It lay close to the centre of his lordship in the Cotentin and the ducal castle of Vire, which came into his custody in 1199.[155]

Normandy remained an important focus for Ranulf until 1204. While there are significantly fewer surviving charters relating to his Norman interests than there are for his English estate, probably reflecting the loss of archival materials in the Cotentin, the earl left evidence of an active interest in many churches in the duchy.[156] The abbey of Saint-Sever was a family foundation at the centre of his honour in western Normandy, and was almost certainly the recipient of considerable patronage,

[150] For Ralph de Montalt's career see *Chester* no. 267 and note, and *Annales Cestrensis* (Chester Annals), ed. R. C. Christie (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, vol. 14, 1886), p. 45. He witnesses Ranulf's charters from 1188-9 onwards (*Chester* no. 208). His Norman lands at Le Torneor are referenced in *NPR* Ric I, p. 288.
[151] Philip de Orreby is referenced as the earl's seneschal in a charter given between 1198 and 1203 (*Chester* no. 281). He witnessed a large number of charters from around 1190 (*Chester* nos. 246, 296, 337 are just a sample).
[152] *NPR* Hen II pp. 29, 97; *LF* ii p. 1044; *Chester* nos. 251, 279, 314.
[153] *Chester* no. 295.
[154] *CDF* no. 786; *Chester* no. 279.
[155] See *Chester* no. 314 and note for Martilly as a residence of the earl, and Chapter 2, p. 53 for Ranulf's custody of Vire.
[156] See Introduction, pp. 17-18 for the effects of the loss of the departmental archives at Saint-Lô.

although few charters for the abbey survive from this period.[157] There is only one surviving family charter for the abbey, given by Ranulf's father Earl Hugh before 1173, but clearly there were others. A judgement given in the Norman Exchequer in 1215, referred to a charter of Earl Ranulf III for Saint-Sever, granting the tithes of his estates at Tallevende.[158] Earl Ranulf also acted as advocate for other churches in this region. Between 1190-5, while at Martilly, he wrote to Richard bishop of London asking him to help the canons of Fougères regain possession of the church of Cheshunt.[159] The abbeys of Montmorel, Aunay, and Breton churches, such as Saint-Melaine and Fougères, were all recipients of the earl's patronage. After 1199, his second wife, Clemencia, maintained relations with the houses associated with her Norman lands, confirming a gift by her grandfather, Ralph de Fougères, to Saint-Martin-de-Mortain of revenues at Romigny.[160] Earl Ranulf was an important presence in western Normandy prior to 1204, exerting considerable influence over the local aristocracy and advancing the interests of his dependants and supporters. As the wealthiest baron in England, he considerably strengthened cross-Channel influence within the aristocracy of the Cotentin during this critical period.

The earl's frustration at the loss of his Norman lands in 1204 may have caused him, later that year, to flout the king's authority and wage war against his Welsh neighbours.[161] Soon afterwards the king gave him substantial compensation for his lost Norman lands with the grant of a significant portion of the honour of Richmond, the lands of his ex-wife Constance.[162] While the preponderance of Ranulf's wealth in England led him to establish himself there after 1204, Ranulf probably retained an attachment to his Norman interests for the rest of his life. He maintained contacts with old Norman-Breton associates, such as John de Préaux, and Hasculf de Subligny, lord of Dol, who witnessed Ranulf's English charters after 1204.[163] The earl remained ever

[157] There is a copy of a list of the abbey's charters made in 1665 but the earliest is dated 1348. (Coll. Mancel iv pp. 1702-1705; *Calvados* ii p. 163).
[158] See *Chester* no.181 for the charter of Earl Hugh (it only survives as a copy in the 'Cartulaire de Normandie', Rouen, Bibliotheque Municipale, MS. 1235 ff. 30v-31v). The judgement in the Norman Exchequer, referring to Ranulf's charter, is *RJE* no. 158.
[159] Chester no. 243.
[160] *Chester* nos. 259, 332, 333, 279, 243; Coll. Mancel iv p. 2319.
[161] The political significance of these events is discussed in Chapter 8, p. 222.
[162] Earl Ranulf was given his compensation for the loss of his Norman lands on 6 March 1205 (*LP* 6 Joh p. 51).
[163] Chester nos. 282, 286, 296, 337, 371, 395.

hopeful of recovering his Norman lands. Between 1217 and 1229, Ranulf gave Robert fitz Saloman rents in Dernhall and Macclesfield in exchange for his lands in England, and at Tessy and Aubigny in Normandy.[164] The earl ended his career in royal service in 1231, leading the campaign in Brittany on behalf of King Henry III, and briefly resided in his old Norman castle of Saint-James-de-Beuvron.[165]

Conclusion

The evidence from both the Cotentin and the Pays de Caux demonstrates that the cross-Channel interests of the barons in these regions had not been weakened by the end of the twelfth century. In contrast to the prevailing view of modern scholarship, the activities of baronial families in both regions, to maintain or extend their interests on both sides of the Channel, were more visible and probably more extensive than during any other period in the history the Anglo-Norman realm.

One of the dominating factors promoting the expansion of cross-Channel interests in these regions of Normandy, and noted extensively in earlier chapters, was the general loyalty of the aristocracy to their ruling king-dukes, often reflected in their service as ducal officials or their close political alignment with ducal interests. This was complemented by the limited presence of any conflicting influences or connections outside the Anglo-Norman realm, which might have encouraged barons to form links with potentially hostile forces such as the king of France. Consequently, the barons of the Cotentin and Pays de Caux looked primarily to Normandy and England to advance their family fortunes. Service on behalf of the king-dukes almost certainly persuaded various families with mainly Norman interests, such as the Le Hommets, Taissons and the Bohons in the Cotentin, and Estoutevilles in the Pays de Caux, to extend their connections and interests in England in the later twelfth century. A number of families were clearly intent on establishing themselves as true cross-Channel barons, distributing property in both countries among extended family members, and developing attachment to local communities in England to complement their existing Norman relationships. In an era when the Plantagenet rulers moved

[164] *Chester* nos. 400.
[165] Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester*, pp. 97-9; *Chester* no. 436 and notes.

regularly between both countries, and engaged with the leading baronial communities, those with cross-Channel interests inevitably carried greater weight within their court.

Similar considerations encouraged a number of the great lords, whose main interests were in England, to look to Normandy to extend their influence with the king-dukes. From the mid 1190s, the emphasis placed by their rulers on the defence of Normandy led many barons to see service in the duchy as the primary means to win favour and advancement. Consequently, many used this opportunity to extend their interests and influence in the duchy. In the Pays de Caux, we have seen how William Marshal, Roger de Mortemer, and perhaps William earl Warenne expanded their influence in the region in the last decade of Plantagenent rule. Similarly, in the Cotentin, Ranulf earl of Chester became the main baronial leader in the region, building extensive connections with local aristocracy and communities, and attracting many Norman followers into his ranks.

Such developments ran with the grain of baronial inclinations and sentiment, as most families in both regions continued to maintain a cross-Channel identity, nurturing their interests and connections in both countries. The baronial families whose main landholding lay in England continued to value their Norman estates, which likely held emotional significance in terms of family provenance and history. In the Cotentin, many of the great cross-Channel lords, such as the earls of Chester and Arundel, the Mowbrays and Mohuns, continued to maintain relationships with the tenants and communities of their Norman estates into the late twelfth century. Where these connections were disrupted, it was primarily due to the succession of under-age heirs, resulting in the lands being taken into royal/ducal custody. This has not been picked up by previous scholars of late twelfth-century Normandy but affected the Mowbrays (1191-96), Bohons (1194-9) and Mohuns (1193-1205), and impacted on previously well-established relationships with local tenants and religious houses. Even in these cases, female relatives often stepped in to maintain the cross-Channel connections of the family, underlining Elisabeth Van Houts' remarks about the important role played by widows and mothers as guardians of family memory and connections.[166] The initiatives of Lucy de Mohun and Rohais de Bohon in Normandy in the 1190s, and

[166] See p. 107, note 67 above.

Leonia d'Estouteville in England after 1204, to secure the inheritances of their sons, emphasised the continued importance of the cross-Channel heritage of these families.

Even where cross-Channel interests had been held by families for many generations, there is no sign that they were valued any less by their representatives in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In both the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, families valued their cross-Channel identity and were keen to ensure their descendants maintained this status. As discussed in Part I, the division of inheritances between multiple heirs and heiresses in this period was usually arranged so that each continued to maintain a stake in both countries. Similarly, families often ensured that the appanages of younger sons, or dowries of daughters were made up of Norman and English lands so that their descendants maintained their stake in both countries.

This attachment of the barons to their cross-Channel interests and identity can be seen most clearly when their assets on one side of the Channel were lost. The separation of Normandy from England, in 1204, exposed the strong desire of many families to hold on to their interests in both countries. In various cases, such as the Le Hommets and earls of Chester, barons continued to maintain contact with the tenants of their former lands across the Channel long after the loss of Normandy. In other cases, by accident or design, family members found themselves on different sides of the Channel after 1204, as occurred in the Estouteville, Le Hommet, Paynel and Vernon families. But many found this convenient to maintain family interests and connections, and work towards the recovery of their lands. Ultimately, the strong traditions of loyalty and service to the king-dukes, and deeply embedded attachment of many families to their cross-Channel interests and identity, worked together in a symbiotic relationship. Each reinforced the other in the course of the later twelfth century, so that the baronage of these two regions remained firmly committed to the connection between Normandy and England, and to supporting the rule of the Plantagenet king-dukes.

Part III

Baronial Military Service in Normandy, 1194-1204

CHAPTER 5

The System of Military Service under the Plantagenet King-Dukes

From the early years of Norman rule in England, the baronage accompanied the king-duke on campaigns in Normandy and, by the later twelfth century, it was established custom that the barons of the king of England, as well as those holding lands of him as duke of Normandy, could be summoned to provide military service in the duchy. Consequently, a study of baronial military service and participation in the campaigns in Normandy, between 1194 and 1204, when King Philip of France sought to detach the duchy from Plantagenet rule, provides a measure of the barons' commitment to maintaining the political connection between Normandy and England. Whether military service in the duchy continued to operate as a cohesive force, engaging the barons and their rulers in a common enterprise to preserve the Anglo-Norman realm, was dependent on the extent to which the military resources of the barons remained of continuing importance to their rulers, and whether the barons themselves were still willing to provide regular and effective support to the defence of the duchy.

Much of the historiography of military service under the Plantagenets emphasises its declining value as a vehicle for engaging the barons in the defence of the Anglo-Norman realm. The obligation of the aristocracy to provide the king-duke with military forces is seen to have been of decreasing relevance. The barons were believed to be increasingly reluctant to support the king-dukes in defending Normandy, or resented the increasing burden of taxation arising from the commutation of their service obligations. As discussed in the Introduction, this view is largely based on the comments of contemporary historians, such as Ralph of Coggeshall, Gervase of Canterbury and Roger of Wendover, on King John's final campaign in Normandy in 1203.[1] Their comments have coloured the interpretations of many modern scholars. For example, in her introduction to the Pipe Roll of 1206, Doris Stenton noted the lack of evidence of opposition to King John's campaign to Poitou that year, but added that there was equally no evidence of enthusiasm and 'had the English baronage been more interested …..Normandy would never have been

[1] See Introduction pp. 7-8 for a discussion of the historiography.

lost'.[2] Warren argued that the reluctance of the Norman baronage to support King John was a significant factor in the loss of Normandy.[3] More recently, David Crouch concluded that only a fraction of magnates with cross-Channel interests supported the king's desire to keep Normandy, and, after the loss of the duchy, no longer exerted themselves among their dependants to support a reconquest.[4]

Despite the scholarly views on baronial indifference or opposition to military service in Normandy, there have been no detailed studies of this subject for the period of intensive warfare in the duchy between 1194 and 1204.[5] Consequently, in Part III of this thesis I aim to address this gap by analysing in detail how the system operated in this period, its implications for the barons of England and Normandy, and the particular responses of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. The evidence presented in previous chapters shows that most barons of these regions were interested in maintaining their cross-Channel interests, and hence it might be expected that this influenced their participation in the Plantagenet armies in Normandy.

In order to understand how individual barons responded to the demands for military service in Normandy, it is necessary to examine the detailed evidence in the administrative records of the period. Prior to 1189, the evidence is limited and records of baronial attendance can only be compiled from the witness of lists of the few royal charters that can be dated precisely to a period when the king was on campaign, or an occasional reference to a baron in the literary sources. For example, during King Henry II's campaign on the continent in 1177, the presence of only four barons can be confirmed from the sources.[6] It is only after 1189 that the practical operation of the system can be viewed in detail, and comprehensive records of baronial attendance compiled from the increasingly rich records in the Pipe Rolls of England and

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[2] *PR* 8 Joh p. xii.
[3] W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1961), pp. 88-90.
[4] Crouch, 'Divided Aristocracy', p. 67.
[5] Most of the general scholarship on military service has concentrated on the Anglo-Norman period, prior to 1189. See for example J. H. Round, 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England', *EHR*, 6 (1891), pp. 417-433, 625-45; I. J. Sanders, *Feudal Military Service in England* (Oxford, 1956); J. Gillingham, 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England', *ANS* 4 (1981), pp. 53-64; J. C Holt, 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England', *ANS* 6 (1983); Keefe, *Feudal Assessments*.
[6] They are Robert earl of Leicester, Simon count of Evreux, William du Hommet son of the constable, and Ralph de Fougères (Howden, *Gesta* i p. 194; *RAH* nos. 563 and 591).

Normandy, and the enrolled records of the Plantagenet chancery. In the present chapter, this evidence is used to reconstruct the system governing the provision of military service in Normandy, and to determine how this affected the willingness of barons to serve in the duchy. In the following chapter, this understanding of how military service worked in practice, coupled with the detailed evidence for individual barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, makes it possible to determine how they responded to the demand by the king for military service in Normandy from 1194-1204, and hence to gain a measure of their commitment to preserving Plantagenet rule.

The system of military service in Normandy and England in the late twelfth century

One of the fundamental features of baronial military service in this period was that it formed part of the contractual relationship between the king-duke and his tenants-in-chief. The barons generally received, or were confirmed in possession of lands and revenues, in return for providing the king-duke with specified dues including the provision of military service.[7] Historians often refer to the king or duke imposing terms of service, reinforcing the idea that military service was an unwelcome obligation for the barons.[8] However, there is little evidence to suggest the arrangements were dictated unilaterally by the king-duke. Hagger, argues that military service obligations in Normandy in the eleventh century were not imposed and 'there is a strong likelihood that …..such service was willingly given'.[9] As I will argue below, there is evidence to suggest that, between 1189 and 1204, the terms of service were often negotiated with the barons, retaining a balance in the contractual arrangement. There is a strong consensual element at the heart of the system of military service operated by the Plantagenets until 1204, challenging the view that barons automatically regarded the system as unjust and oppressive.

The surveys carried out in the reign of Henry II, in England (1166) and Normandy (1172), provide the first comprehensive record of the military service obligations of

[7] Holt, 'Knight Service', pp. 56, 57; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 661-5.
[8] See for example Holt, 'Knight Service', pp. 54, 57.
[9] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, p. 665.

the barons. In most cases, the Norman survey of 1172 established the number of knights a baron had in his service, and a reduced quota of service owed to the duke. For example, it records that Jordan Taisson had 45 knights in his own service but only owed the service of 15 knights to the duke.[10] The survey in England, of 1166, adopted a different approach. For example, Roger de Mowbray reported that he had 60 knights on his lands of the old enfeoffment, generally those established prior to 1135, and 28 knights of the new enfeoffment.[11] Henry II sought to use the combination of old and new enfeoffments as the basis for calculating military service owed to the king, at least for the collection of scutage, the tax applied to a knights' fee when service was not performed.[12] The picture in England was further complicated by the existence of quotas of service owed to the king, similar to those in Normandy, which may have been established at the time of the original grant of the estates to the tenant-in-chief after the Conquest.[13]

These surveys record high levels of knight service in England, which if they had been enforced for actual campaigns, particularly on the continent, would almost certainly have been seen as burdensome by the barons and their tenants. However, these only provide a formal record of the military obligations of the barons and, at least in England, may never have been intended to define the actual service provided on campaign. They were probably intended primarily for fiscal purposes, defining the amount that could be collected in scutage from a baron who did not provide his service, or in feudal aids, such as that collected in 1168, for the marriage of the king's daughter.[14] There is no evidence that the service actually provided by the barons for military campaigns ever equated to the levels of service recorded in the surveys.[15]

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[10] *RPA* p. 269.
[11] *RB* ii pp. 418-21; *CB* no. CCXXXV. The English survey has been the subject of extensive debate concerning the origin of knight service and the service obligations owed to the king. See, for example, Round, 'Knight Service', pp. 417-433, 625-45; Gillingham, 'Knight Service', pp. 53-64; and Holt, 'Knight Service', pp. 89-106. See also Keefe, *Feudal Assessments* for an analysis and interpretation of the returns from the survey of 1166, and *CB* pp. xvi-xx for the most recent discussion of the complex and often puzzling nature of the English inquest.
[12] Keefe, *Feudal Assessments,* pp. 19, 87.
[13] Holt, 'Knight Service', pp. 55-8.
[14] This is the conclusion reached by Neil Stacy in his recent edition of the baronial cartae of 1166, although he suggests there may also have been a legal purpose to the exercise (*CB* pp. xvii-xx).
[15] Holt, 'Knight Service', p. 56.

Consequently, it is necessary to turn to other evidence to understand the true nature of military service provided by the barons in Normandy.

The Norman feudal army (*exercitus Normanniae*) was an established institution in the duchy from at least the eleventh century, and the tenants-in-chief in Normandy who held their lands directly of the duke were regularly summoned to serve in it. It remained of considerable importance during the reign of Henry II, when the barons were asked to serve in many campaigns, including those of Brittany and Anjou in 1158, Toulouse in 1159, the Vexin in 1161 and 1167, Brittany in 1164 and 1166, and Poitou in 1168. After 1174, they served in the Vexin and in Berry in 1177, and in Normandy, Berri, Maine and Anjou in the final years of the reign.[16] For the 1177 campaign, Henry II sent letters to the counts and barons of Normandy ordering them to assemble at Argentan on 9 October, equipped with horses and arms prepared for an expedition to Poitou.[17] Implied in this summons was an expectation that the barons would provide personal service. Earlier evidence shows that many barons were also expected to bring additional knights to the army.[18] The service levels defined in the 1172 survey must have been relevant in this context. It is not clear how they were applied although many scholars have proposed theories.[19] Most recently Hagger, concluded that the reduced quotas specifying service owed to the duke probably did not exist prior to 1144, when the number of knights provided was determined by informal negotiations between duke and baron, similar to those that took place prior to the conquest of England in 1066.[20] He also advances the view that, in various circumstances, the duke could summon all the knights of the duchy to serve in the army, not just the numbers represented by the reduced quotas. The feudal survey of lands of the bishop of Bayeux, in 1133, recorded that the bishop had to send all his knights when the army of Normandy was summoned, suggesting the reduced quota did not apply in circumstances when the full army was needed to do battle or defend

[16] Torigni, pp. 196, 201, 210-1, 223, 228, 231; Howden, *Gesta*, i pp. 132, 138, ii pp. 40, 66; Diceto ii p. 55; *HGM* i ll. 8284-8934. See also Power, 'Henry Duke of the Normans', p. 110 for Henry II's extensive use of the army of Normandy in his early campaigns.
[17] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 195.
[18] See, for example, the survey of the lands of the bishop of Bayeux from 1133 (*RHF* xxiii p. 699), and Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 670-4, for the most recent analysis of the evidence for military service in Normandy prior to 1144.
[19] P. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la nobles en France au moyen âge*, (Paris 1902), pp. 261, 292-3. See also Sanders, *Feudal Military Service*, pp. 32-7.
[20] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 670-4.

the duchy. There is further support for this view in the entry for the bishop of Coutances in the 1172 survey, where he is recorded owing the duke the service of five knights and had thirteen knights in his own service but should take thirteen knights to the army.[21] Hagger suggests the discounted quotas were used for other occasions when the king-duke wished to augment his household knights for a show of strength, such as a conference with the king of France.

A system of commutation of service was applied in Normandy although here it was known as *auxilium exercitus*. While there were various similarities with the system of scutage in England, far less evidence has survived and, consequently, our understanding of how it operated is limited. It appears that *auxilium exercitus* was collected from barons, and the holders of knights's fees, when they did not serve in the army. In 1198, William de Mowbray owed 26 l. for the residue of *auxilium exercitus* for the fees of five knights, the service he owed for his Norman barony, 'for not providing service to the king'.[22] When barons or knights served in the army, they were allowed to keep their *auxilium exercitus*. In 1203, the Pipe Roll lists the sums collected from individual knights of the honour of Montfort for the most recent army, and records that a further 18 l. 6s 8d. was remitted to knights of the honour because they gave their service.[23] There are a few examples in the Norman records of ducal writs issued to barons, allowing them to keep their *auxilium exercitus*. These are similar to the *writs de scutagio habendo* that were issued in England. In most cases, they appear to have been issued because the baron provided military service. In May 1203, a writ ordered that Enjuger de Bohon was quit of the demand made by the Exchequer for the army of Gascony. [24] This almost certainly related to the *auxilium exercitus* that was levied for this purpose on other barons.[25] This is confirmed in the

[21] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, pp. 672-4; the text of the entry for the bishop of Coutances in the 1172 survey reads *id est debet capere servicium xiii militum pro exercitu et similiter de aliis* (*RPA* p. 267). Hollister made the same observation that the duke could summon all his barons and knights to repel an invader (C. Warren Hollister, *The Military Organisation of Norman England*, (Oxford, 1965), pp. 77-83, 217-220).
[22] *Pro servicio regis non facto* (*NPR* Ric I p. 216).
[23] *MRSN* ii p. 559.
[24] *RN* 5 Joh p. 105.
[25] See, for example, Hugh de Gournay who was charged 60 l. for his service owed to the duke of twelve knights for the army of Gascony (*MRSN* ii p. 557).

case of Gilbert de L'Aigle, who received a writ in September, recording that he was quit of *auxilium exercitu*s that was levied on him for the army of Gascony.[26]

Despite the limited evidence, the records of *auxilium exercitus* provide insight into military service provided under Richard I and John. The aid was levied on those who owed service directly to the duke. Tenants of the ducal demesne, who generally held a single knight's fee, or less, directly of the duke, as well as the tenants of honours in ducal custody, simply paid for the number of fees they held. For example, Richard de Roncey was charged 8 l. for his knight's fee held of the ducal demesne in the bailiwick of Lisieux.[27] The barons, who held more sizeable fiefs of the duke, were assessed on the basis of the reduced quotas of service recorded in the 1172 survey, rather than the number of knights' fees on their land. In 1194-5, Fulk d'Aunou was charged 32 l. for the service owed of four knights (at the rate of 8 l. per knight), rather than for the 34 and a half knights he had enfeoffed on his lands.[28] If collection of *auxilium exercitus* from baronial fiefs reflected the service the barons were expected to provide to the army, it suggests they provided only their reduced service quotas for the armies of Richard I and John, rather than the full complement of knights enfeoffed on their lands, that might be expected according to Hagger's interpretation of the earlier evidence.

Determining the number of knights a baron was expected to provide in the ducal army is important in understanding the burden of military service imposed on the Norman barons during these years. For a baron like Ralph de Tancarville, providing his reduced service quota of ten knights was far less onerous than producing all 94 and three-quarter knights enfeoffed on his lands.[29] The more favourable terms applied to the barons suggest these were the result of negotiations between the duke and the principal barons to agree appropriate and sustainable levels of service for the prolonged conflict in Normandy.[30] They may also have taken account of the broader

[26] *RN* 5 Joh p. 105
[27] *NPR* Ric I p. 160.
[28] *NPR* Ric I p. 112. See *RPA* p. 270 for his return to the 1172 Inquest.
[29] The return provided by William de Tancarville, Ralph's father, to the 1172 inquest is at *RPA* p. 269.
[30] See pp. 135 and 137-8 below for further discussion of the evidence, in this period, for consultation and negotiation between the king/duke and his barons to determine the service provided.

defence needs of the duchy. In various cases, the obligations of barons and their tenants reflected the need to retain part of their knight service for local defence, usually at a ducal or baronial castle. The service obligation of William de Roumare, described in his return to the 1172 inquest, was to provide twelve knights at the ducal castle of Neufmarché, close to his lands, but only three or four knights for service elsewhere. In 1202-3, when his heir was charged *auxilium exercitus* for the projected expedition to Poitou, it was levied on the basis of the four knights owed for general campaigns.[31] In the surveys carried out for the king of France in the early thirteenth century, the lords of Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe held ten knights' fees of the honour of Sainte-Scholasse, the former Norman lands of the earls of Gloucester. They provided the service of all ten knights at the earl's castle of Sainte-Scholasse, but only the service of one knight to the duke on behalf of the earl.[32] There are a number of other examples in the surveys where a proportion of the knight service available to a baron was dedicated to local defence. Many of the knights holding lands of the frontier castelries of Pacy and Vernon owed service only at the castle.[33] Fulk Paynel held La Haye-Pesnel from the duke for the service of one knight, but half that fee was dedicated to custody of the ducal castle at Coutances.[34] The honour of Moyon in the early thirteenth century comprised eleven knights' fees, of which the holders of at least three and a half fees owed their service at the castle of Moyon.[35] In a survey carried out in the 1220s, William du Hommet held his honour of Le Hommet of the king for the service of five knights and had the fees of 22 knights at his own service, from which he would find those five knights when needed for the service of the king. This implies that the service of the other 17 knights remained at William's disposal and was not sent to the army of Normandy.[36] The evidence suggests the reduced service quotas specified the number of knights a baron was expected to provide for general service in the army, either in Normandy or beyond the frontiers. It recognised their need to retain sufficient knights for the defence of their castles and lands, or

[31] *RPA* p. 268; *MRSN* ii p. 551.
[32] *RHF* xxiii p. 618.
[33] *RHF* xxiii p. 622.
[34] *RHF* xxiii p. 610.
[35] *RHF* xxiii p. 611.
[36] *RHF* xxiii p. 609. The full text is as follows: *Guillelmus de Humeto, constabularius Normanniae, tenet de domino rege honorem de Humeto per servicium quinque militum, et habet de eadem baronia viginti duo feoda militum ad servicium suum proprium, quae reperiunt istos quinque milites, quando opus est, ad servicium domini regis*.

nearby ducal castles. These arrangements may reflect the outcome of pragmatic agreements between the king-dukes and individual barons, and the consensual nature of the arrangements governing military service in this period. The evidence for negotiation between duke and barons in Normandy is limited although, in a letter of 9 December 1202, King John ordered all his knights and serjeants in the duchy to indicate to his marshal the service they would bring to the army, implying that these services were not fixed.[37] All told, it is likely that the arrangements were similar to those adopted in England where the evidence for consultation between the king and his barons is more extensive.

In addition to drawing on the military resources of their barons in Normandy, the Plantagenet kings also called on their barons to provide service in the duchy based on the obligations attached to their English lands. The evidence suggests this was a long established custom, probably dating from soon after the Conquest.[38] Under Henry II, English barons served in Normandy or elsewhere in France on a number of occasions. In 1159, according to Robert of Torigni, the king summoned the armies of England, Normandy, Aquitaine and all his other provinces for the expedition to Toulouse.[39] In February 1177, he ordered all the earls, barons and knights of England to assemble at London on 8 May, equipped with horses and arms, ready to follow him to Normandy and prepared to serve for one year at their own expense.[40] While in Maine in 1189, fighting against King Philip, Henry II wrote to Ranulf de Glanville the justiciar of England, ordering him to summon his English lords and barons, and that they should come to him without delay.[41] Even during the disputes over provision of military service overseas in 1213-5, the barons of England never denied the king's right to ask them to serve in Normandy. In a clause of the 'Unknown Charter' of 1215, the

[37] *Rex etc. omnibus militibus et servientibus ad quos etc. Mandamus vobis quod sitis intendentes fideli nostro Johanni marescallo nostro, et servicium vestrum faciatis sicut vobis ipse dicet*. (*LP* 5 Joh p. 21).
[38] For examples under King William I, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, p. 366, and, for the reign of Henry I, see Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 256-7 and 300-4.
[39] Torigni, p. 201.
[40] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 138.
[41] *HGM* i ll. 8273-8282.

baronial opponents of King John sought to establish limits on overseas service but acknowledged they were obliged to serve in Normandy and Brittany.[42]

As in Normandy, the evidence above demonstrates the emphasis placed by the kings on the personal service of the baron. When a baron did not serve, for whatever reason, he was obliged to pay the king the scutage collected from his tenants holding knights' fees. In England, scutage was usually assessed on the numbers of knights actually enfeoffed on a baron's lands, as recorded in the 1166 survey. Barons who provided their service were given a writ of quittance from having to account for their scutage at the Exchequer, and were allowed to keep the scutage collected from their tenants as a means of defraying their costs.[43] From 1194 onwards, the barons receiving a writ of quittance were listed in the Pipe Rolls, usually indicating those barons had served in the army of Normandy. On the roll of 1193-4, the lists of those receiving writs are specifically headed '*Isti habent quietantiam per regem de scutagio suo quia fuerunt in exercitu Normanniae*.'[44] In later years it is often necessary to find other evidence to confirm that a particular baron served in the army of Normandy as writs of quittance were occasionally granted to barons who paid a fine to avoid serving overseas.[45]

It is more difficult in this period to determine how the English tenants-in-chief discharged their service, and particularly how many knights they took with them on campaigns across the Channel. The first surviving records of actual service demanded of individual barons are two fragments of muster rolls for King John's projected expeditions to Poitou in 1213-4. They record the names of those summoned and the amount of service they were required to bring.[46] More complete records survive from the reign of Henry III for campaigns in 1218, 1229 and 1245. In these thirteenth century records, most barons were expected to serve in person, or in other cases allowed to provide a substitute. Many were also expected to bring a small number of

[42] See Holt, *Magna Carta*, p. 352-3, and 'Anglo-Norman Realm, p. 28'. See also Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, pp. 17, 203 and 284.
[43] See the evidence from inquisitions carried out in England, between 1157 and 1168, in Norfolk and Suffolk (*RB* ii pp. cclxvii-cclxx). This is discussed at p.145 below.
[44] See, for example, the entry for Essex and Hertfordshire in *PR* 6 Ric I p. 38.
[45] See, for example, William Paynel in 1195, who fined for twenty marks to have his scutage and not to cross the sea (*PR* 8 Ric I p. 186).
[46] *Praestita Rolls 14-18 John* (PRS, 1964), ed. J. C. Holt, pp. 101-2; N. Vincent, 'A Roll of Knights Summoned to Campaign in 1213', *Historical Research* lxvi (1993), pp. 89-97.

knights. In the 1213-4 rolls, for example, the earl of Salisbury was asked to bring three knights, Geoffrey de Mandeville five knights, William Paynel was only asked to serve himself, and William de Gresle was required to send his son in his place. The service required was significantly less than recorded in the 1166 survey. The earl of Salisbury, for example, owed the service of 40 knights. This suggests that, by the early thirteenth century, it was common practice for barons to provide only a small contingent of knights.[47] It is likely that this system evolved much earlier and probably as a response to the need for more pragmatic arrangements for campaigns on the continent.[48] The customary term of service of 40 days at the baron's expense was clearly impractical for prolonged campaigns overseas, and hence it made sense for both the king and the baron to agree smaller contingents for longer periods of service. This is exactly what was envisaged for the campaign in Normandy in 1177, when king Henry II asked his barons to come prepared to stay for one year at their own expense and to let the king know by their letters how many knights they could bring without great injury.[49] This also shows that the number of knights was negotiable, once again emphasising the consensual approach adopted by the king in determining the service provided by his barons. The elements of flexibility and negotiation are also evidence in a letter of Henry II, sent to William Marshal in the summer of 1188. In what may be the first writ of military summons to have survived, the king asks William to bring as many knights as possible to support him in his war.[50]

For his first campaign in Normandy, in April 1194, King Richard was more prescriptive, asking the barons to bring one third of their knight service with them to Normandy. Nevertheless, this too may have been the result of consultation with the major barons at the council of Nottingham.[51] Perhaps his first experience of campaigns in Normandy encouraged Richard to revert to the approach of his father for the muster of 1196, when he asked the barons to bring smaller contingents but prepared for a long absence overseas. On 15 April, he wrote to his justiciar in England ordering all those with heads of baronies in Normandy to go immediately to the king in Normandy. All those who owed service in England were to go over on 2 June,

[47] *RB* i pp. 239-40; *CB* no. LIX.
[48] Holt dates this development from the early reign of Henry II (Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 62-3)
[49] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 138.
[50] *LCH* no. 1771. See also Vincent, 'William Marshal', pp. 1–15
[51] See Howden, *Chronica* iii p. 242.

prepared for a long stay, and none were to bring more than seven knights.[52] It is likely the same arrangements were adopted for King John's campaigns on the continent. For example, in June 1203, Thomas d'Arcy was required to serve in Normandy with three knights at his own expense for one year while, in April 1204, Henry de Scalers was also contracted to serve with three knights.[53] The muster rolls for the campaigns in Poitou, in 1213-4, show the barons were required to bring small contingents of knights with none exceeding the upper limit of seven knights specified by Richard in 1196.[54]

Hence for their campaigns in Normandy it is highly likely that both Richard and John followed the practice of their father to agree with their barons that they should bring smaller contingents of knights prepared for longer service in Normandy, rather than the customary 40 days. While various historians have suggested these arrangements may have been forced on the king, due to baronial opposition, there is no evidence to support this. Certainly, the tone of the kings' letters recorded by Howden, in 1177 and 1196, implies a more consensual arrangement.[55] These arrangements probably suited the king, who needed contingents of well-trained and equipped knights for prolonged periods of service, and were almost certainly more agreeable to the barons as well.

One other key conclusion from the evidence presented above is the strong emphasis placed by the king-duke on the provision of actual service from his barons and their knights. This is important because the arguments advanced by various scholars about baronial indifference to serving in Normandy are based on the belief that the Plantagenet kings preferred to use mercenaries for their continental campaigns.[56] In reality, the kings probably needed both. Even though the individual baronial contingents of knights were small, when combined they formed a sizeable force in the context of the overall numbers available for the Norman campaigns. Between 80 and 90 barons served in Normandy each year between 1194 and 1196, and many were

[52] Diceto ii p. lxxix; *Itinerary* no. 464.
[53] *RL* 5 Joh pp. 44, 89.
[54] *Praestita Rolls 14-18 John,* pp. 101-2.
[55] Sanders argues that these were forced on the king (Sanders, *Military Service*, p. 52).
[56] See, for example, Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 248. See also Introduction, pp. 7-8.

accompanied by small contingents of knights.[57] Consequently, their contingents may have amounted to as many as 300 knights. The number of knights provided by holders of Norman baronies is more difficult to assess due to lack of evidence. The baronial service owed to the dukes, recorded in the survey of 1172, amounted to 581 knights, but a significant number of barons provided no returns. While this total is therefore an underestimate of the overall service owed to the duke, we have no indication of how many barons actually provided their service in a given year, or how many avoided service, and perhaps paid their *auxilium exercitus* instead. If, like their colleagues in England, a significant number of barons in Normandy served in the army, then they too would have provided the king-dukes with a large contingent of knights.

The provision of military service in Normandy by the barons was clearly important to the king-dukes. On a few occasions, when important barons were not present in Normandy, they incurred the king's anger and hefty fines. In 1194, William of Hastings paid 100 marks for not crossing to Normandy with Richard I and having his goodwill. In 1199, Eustace de Balliol was fined 200 marks because he was not with King John in Normandy.[58] Both King Richard and King John tried to increase the number of knights procured from this source. In 1197-8, King Richard forced various ecclesiastical barons to provide knights in Normandy, rather than pay scutage or fines in lieu of service, as they had done in the past.[59] Driven by a deteriorating military situation, King John may have pressed more of the lesser barons to serve in 1202 and 1203.[60] The dependency of the king-dukes on the military service of their barons was reflected in their increasing use of financial incentives, such as loans or suspension of payments on their debts, to encourage barons to serve in Normandy. In both 1205 and 1213, King John was forced to cancel expeditions to Poitou when the barons refused to go.[61] The evidence suggests that the barons, and their contingents of knights, were

[57] See pp. 140-1 below for evidence on the number of barons serving in Normandy under King Richard.
[58] *PR* 6 Ric I, p. 66; *FR* 1 Joh p. 52.
[59] See pp. 142-3 below.
[60] See p. 141 and note 68 below.
[61] See pp. 146-7 below for examples of concessions given by King John to his barons. For the cancellation of the expedition to Poitou in 1205, see Chapter 8 pp. 224-5 below, and for that of 1213, see Church, *King John*, pp. 252-3.

of crucial importance in the Norman campaigns. As Power observes, the wars of 1187-1204 enhanced the dependence of the king-dukes on their barons.[62]

Baronial service in the Norman campaigns, 1194-1203

The system that evolved under the Plantagenet kings was more successful than has been generally recognised in securing regular service in Normandy from a large section of their baronage on both sides of the Channel. The records of service in England, derived primarily from the scutage records during the years when it was collected, provide sufficient evidence for most tenants-in-chief in England to form the basis for a statistical analysis. The records in Normandy for the collection of *auxilium exercitus* are too fragmentary to provide comparable evidence but many barons in Normandy also held lands in England, where the evidence from the English records provides a reasonable view of their participation in campaigns. During the first three Norman campaigns of Richard I (1194, 1195 and 1196), between 80 and 90 barons served with the king in Normandy and received writs of quittance for their scutage. There were no scutage records for the campaigns of 1197 and 1198, but over 100 barons served in the first two campaigns of King John in 1199 and 1201.[63] Apart from those cases where the heir was a minor, or the baron was engaged in royal service elsewhere, most of the holders of the major lay baronies in England, and a large majority of those who also held lands in Normandy, served in the duchy.[64] For example, of the 89 barons holding property in Normandy listed in the scutage returns of 1196, 56 received writs of quittance and served in the duchy, and a further 8, whose scutage returns are not recorded, were either in Normandy that year, based on other evidence, or serving on the Welsh border.[65] Of those who paid scutage three were minors.[66] This indicates that only 25 per cent of barons holding lands in both countries declined to serve that year. There was a larger group of English tenants-in-

[62] Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', p. 121.
[63] This data is derived primarily from the Pipe Rolls of these years (*PR* 6 Ric I and 8 Ric I, 1 Joh and 3 Joh). For example, the writs of quittance from paying scutage form the main evidence for compiling lists of those who served in 1194, and can be found at *PR* 6 Ric I pp. 17, 38, 42, 65, 74, 85, 94, 119, 125, 140, 162, 171, 174, 183, 210, 231, 258.
[64] See Chapter 6, p. 151 for examples of barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin who were minors or served elsewhere.
[65] For example, the earl of Arundel witnessed a charter of King Richard at Andely in June 1196 (*Itinerary* no. 468).
[66] The minors were Adam de Port, Henry de Bohun and Enjuger de Bohon.

chief who habitually did not serve during these years, numbering at least 120 and probably more depending how the numbers are calculated.[67] This group generally comprised most of the prelates owing military service, and many holders of small fiefs. During the final two Norman campaigns of King John, in 1202 and 1203, the number of English tenants-in-chief who served in Normandy increased to unprecedented levels. In 1202, 162 barons are listed as receiving writs of quittance, and, in 1203, this increased to 193.[68] The numbers in the latter year may be slightly inflated, due to the absence of a Fine Roll, which in previous years revealed that a few writs of quittance were issued after payment of a fine for licence to remain in England.

The military service policies of the king-dukes during the Norman wars

The evidence demonstrates that both King Richard and King John were able to secure service from a large number of barons for their campaigns in Normandy, including most of the more powerful barons and those who held lands in both countries. If this level of service is to be regarded as a reliable indicator of baronial commitment to Normandy, we also need to understand individual motivations for providing such service. Was the service provided willingly by the barons or was it, as many scholars contend, given reluctantly and perhaps under duress, with penalties and sanctions applied to those who did not comply? I argue below that most barons who provided service in Normandy in this period did so willingly for a variety of reasons. Clearly, individual circumstances and factors, particularly their own interests and stake in Plantagenet Normandy, played an important part and these are examined in more detail for the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin in Chapter 6. In addition, I will demonstrate below that many features of the system of military service, developed under the king-dukes, were designed to secure the cooperation and willing participation of their barons in their continental campaigns, enabling the king to draw fully on the resources of those barons who were committed to defending Normandy.

[67] For honours in royal custody, the custodian of the honour usually provided a single account for the knight service, but occasionally, large numbers of knights accounted separately for their scutage, and appear on the Pipe Roll.

[68] The very high numbers of barons serving in 1202 and 1203 may be a reaction to events in 1201 when, following the confrontation with the leading barons over the summons that year, the king collected large numbers of fines from lesser barons who did not serve (see p. 141 below).

One of the more interesting aspects of military service in this period, and an important indicator of the extent of baronial commitment to the defence of the duchy, is that the king-dukes rarely forced barons to serve in the army through the use of sanctions and penalties. There is only very limited evidence for the use of financial penalties. In 1198, a number of knights of the ducal demesne in the *baillia* of Domfront did not appear at the muster and were amerced by the bailiff of sums of 20s or more.[69] In the same year, the bishop of Coutances was fined 266 l. 13s 4d because his knights left the army without licence.[70] But these instances were rare and not applied to the main lay barons. In England, there is more evidence of fines being imposed on those who did not cross to Normandy to serve in the army. In 1194, they were applied to only 11 barons although more than 120 tenants in chief did not serve and just paid their normal scutage. The frequency increased in later years. In 1195-6 and 1199, between 20 and 35 fines were levied each year for non-performance of military service.[71] However, it appears that most of these fines were not designed to force barons to serve. They were usually set at levels yielding a modest premium over and above the normal scutage charges, suggesting they were a response to the king's pressing need for money. They were also mainly levied on those barons who did not normally serve and were not expected to serve, such as the ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief. Only in a very few instances were exceptionally severe fines imposed on barons, reflecting a degree of royal anger because the baron had been expected to serve and had not appeared at the muster. In 1194, William of Hastings paid 100 marks for not crossing to Normandy with Richard I and having his goodwill. His normal scutage would have amounted to only 20 marks on 10 fees. In 1199, Eustace de Balliol was fined 200 marks because he was not with the king in Normandy.[72]

The only documented occasion when King Richard tried to force a group of reluctant barons to provide their service in Normandy occurred in December 1197, when he asked the abbots and bishops of England to provide him with knights. The prelates

[69] *NPR* Ric I p. 287
[70] *NPR* Ric I p. 272.
[71] The evidence for fines imposed in the reign of Richard I is to be found in the Pipe Rolls for the relevant years. For King John's campaigns of 1199 and 1201, the Fine Rolls provide additional details on the reasons for the imposition of the fines (*Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londoniensi Asservata*, ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, London, 1835)).
[72] *PR* 6 Ric I p. 66; *FR* 1 Joh p. 52.

had avoided service in the past by paying their scutage and sometimes a small fine. Two bishops, Herbert of Salisbury and Hugh of Lincoln, refused the king's request and their lands were seized to enforce compliance. Both later travelled to Normandy to make their peace with the king. [73] According to Joscelin of Brakelond, Samson abbot of Bury St Edmunds also crossed to Normandy to reason with the king, and offered a fine as he had done in previous years. However, the king was insistent that he needed knights and the abbot was forced to hire four knights to meet the king's demand.[74] Similarly, under King John, there was only one occasion, in the spring of 1201, when he threatened various barons with sanctions when they refused to comply with a summons to serve in Normandy. However, this was an exceptional situation in which the baronial threat to withhold their service was driven not by a reluctance to serve in Normandy but to force other political concessions from the king.[75] Large numbers of barons, who had habitually served in Normandy in previous campaigns, crossed to Normandy with King John in 1201, and in his subsequent campaigns, and there is no evidence of sanctions being applied to secure this level of support. In fact, few fines for not crossing to Normandy were imposed after 1201. Overall, the evidence suggests that the use of sanctions played only a very limited part in the kings' success in securing extensive service from their barons for their Norman campaigns. Most fines were applied to those barons who did not usually serve and, except in a few cases, were not intended as a sanction or penalty to encourage them to serve in future. Threats of disseisin or foreiture were rarely used by either king for the purpose of enforcing military service. Apart from King Richard's action against the two bishops in 1197-8, disseisin was usually applied only in the cases of opponents and rebels, such as the examples of Richard de Vernon and earl William de Vernon in 1194-5 described below, or as part of a broader political dispute between king and barons, as occurred in 1201.

One of the important factors that encouraged baronial support for the campaigns in Normandy was the consensual approach adopted by the king-dukes in determining the

[73] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series, London, 1864) ii, p. 67. See also the introduction to *PR* 10 Ric I by D. M. Stenton, pp. xix–xxiv for a summary of the evidence on the response by the bishops and abbots to the king's demands.
[74] Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, trans. D. Greenway and J. Sayers (Oxford, 2009), pp. 134-6.
[75] See Chapter 8, pp. 207-8 for a full discussion of the political context.

arrangements for a campaign. In England, the kings probably consulted their major barons on the terms of service for a campaign, including the length of the service, the number of knights they would bring, and the rate at which scutage would be collected from those who did not serve. The arrangements for the 1194 campaign in Normandy were issued during the council at Nottingham, in early April, when most of the important barons were present.[76] Even when the king was in Normandy and many of the barons in England, the justiciar, Archbishop Hubert Walter, assembled the barons for consultation. In late December 1197, Hubert convened a council of the leading barons at Oxford to consider how they would respond to King Richard's request for 300 knights.[77] After his departure from Normandy in December 1203, King John convened a council of his barons in early January, also at Oxford, where they agreed to provide him with the means to return to the duchy, including a scutage of two and a half marks per fee.[78] In Normandy, there is no equivalent evidence for the involvement of the barons in determining arrangements, though it is likely that a similar process applied at the regular gatherings of the Plantagenet court in the duchy. The king-duke's dependence on the barons and their knights no doubt encouraged this consultative approach but its effect would have been to engage the barons more closely in the defence of the duchy.

On the whole, the ready willingness of barons to serve regularly in Normandy might have also been influenced by economic considerations. Minor barons may not have been able to afford the increasing costs of paying the wages of a retinue of knights or the more elaborate armour, equipment and war-horses of the late twelfth century. For these individuals, the payment of scutage or *auxilium exercitus* was the only realistic option.[79] However, for wealthier barons who maintained a complement of knights and retainers, regular service in the army might have been financially advantageous.[80] In addition to the possibility of securing plunder and ransoms, barons were able to derive more dependable returns from the customary dues they collected from their tenants, when summoned to provide military service. When tenants of a baron, who held their

[76] Howden, *Chronica* iii p. 242.
[77] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 40; Gervase i p. 549.
[78] Wendover ii p. 209.
[79] In the 1190s, knights were paid between 2 and 3 s. per day (sterling) representing a significant increase on the 8 d. that was typical in the reign of Henry II. (Sanders, *Military Service*, p. 56).
[80] See Chapter 6, pp. 158-9 for evidence of barons maintaining permanent retinues of knights.

lands by knight service, did not serve in person, they were expected to contribute to the cost of providing a knight through payment of scutage or *auxilium exercitus*. There is substantial evidence from both England and Normandy to confirm that when a baron served in the army with the king-duke, the baron was allowed to keep any scutage or *auxilium* collected from his tenants. For example, inquisitions carried out in Norfolk, between 1157 and 1168, show the earl of Arundel collecting various contributions from his tenants for his military campaigns, such as the scutage paid by Amaury de Beaufay, who gave the earl £3 for three knights' fees, authorised by a writ *de scutagio habendo* sent by the king from across the sea.[81]

The same applied in Normandy. In December 1202, an order of King John, granting a manor to William de Briouze, stated that he should receive *auxilium exercitus* for the land just as the other barons of the king received.[82] When the honour of Mohun was in royal custody in 1198, the aid was levied on all eleven fees of the honour, suggesting this was the normal practice when held by the baron.[83] This practice would enable Ralph de Tancarville, for example, to collect the aid from up to 94 and three-quarter enfeoffed knights, with a potential yield of 758 l. in 1195, when the agreed rate was 8 l. per fee, and 947 l. 15 s. in 1198, when the aid was charged at 10 l. per fee. As Ralph was expected to serve with only ten knights in the ducal host, the likely cost of providing these knights for 40 days, at a typical rate of 12 s. *angevins* per day, would be 240 l., leaving a substantial surplus.[84] In practice, Ralph would still need to maintain garrisons in his castles in the Pays de Caux, reducing the size of his surplus. The terms might not be so favourable for other lords such as William de Mowbray, who could collect the aid on only eleven fees but had to provide five knights in the ducal army.[85] However, as an important landholder in England, William could also

[81] *RB* ii pp. cclxviii, cclxx. See also Crouch, *English Aristocracy*, pp. 27-8.
[82] The text of John's order to Ralph Taisson, then seneschal of Normandy, reads *faciatis habere ei auxilium hoc exercitus de eadam terra ….sicut alii barones nostri habent* (*RN* 4 John p. 65).
[83] *NPR* Ric I p. 134.
[84] For the rates of *auxilium exercitus* charged in 1195 see, for example, *NPR* Ric I p. 112, and for the rate in 1198, see *NPR* I Ric p. 274. The rate of pay for knights quoted reflects the highest rate payable in this period of 3 s. per day (sterling), converted to Angevin currency (see note 73 above). Lower rates of pay were recorded in the 1190s, such as that of 2 s. per day referenced in 1191 (*PR* 3 Ric I p. 1).
[85] See *RPA* p. 269 for the service owed, and enfeoffments on the honour of Montbray in the 1172 inquest, and *RB* ii, pp. 418-21 for Nigel de Mowbray's return to the 1166 inquest in England.

draw on the financial support of his English tenants for service in Normandy. When William served with the king in Normandy, he would be able to collect scutage from 99 and three quarter knights' fees on his English estates, yielding a sum of 199 ½ marks at the typical rate charged in England of two marks per fee. This would pay the wages of a small contingent of knights in Normandy for many months. The barons were thus able to use their service in the army as justification to extract substantial financial contributions from their tenants. Consequently, military service may not have been seen as a financial burden. While barons needed to be mindful of over-taxing their tenants, the dues they collected may have made military service profitable for many. At the very least, it gave those who maintained a military retinue the opportunity to transfer the costs to their tenants for the duration of a campaign in Normandy.

While the regular financial contributions available to barons for their military activities in Normandy might be substantial, various barons were also able to secure further financial concessions and rewards from the king-dukes. In Normandy, Richard I gave payments to various barons for their service. In a writ of 1195, recording a series of military payments, Count John and Ralph de Tancarville each received 200 l., probably for their service in the eastern marches during the summer campaign.[86] Later that year, the king ordered payments of 1440 l. to the barons and knights who went with him into Poitou in the autumn. Such a campaign was likely to last more than 40 days, the customary term of service provided by a baron at his own expense.[87] Most of these were gifts and payments (*dona* or *liberationes*), and were most likely given for military service provided beyond the normal obligations. There are also a few examples of loans given by Richard I to various barons in Normandy, including Hamelin earl Warenne, who received a loan of 100 l.[88] As Holt demonstrated, the provision of loans became more common under King John, probably to encourage or enable a baron to provide the service needed by the king.[89] In July 1202, Roger de Mortemer was loaned 100 l. from the Exchequer at Caen, and William de Mowbray received 140 l. in 1202-3.[90] During 1202-3, the earl of Chester received a substantial

[86] *NPR* Ric I p, 10.
[87] *NPR* Ric I p. 8.
[88] *NPR* Ric I p. 231.
[89] Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 131-2.
[90] *LP* 4 Joh 14; *MRSN* ii p. 536.

loan from the king of 700 l., given specifically for service in the army of Gascony.[91] Contrary to the impressions given in accounts of the period, it is likely that the regular arrangements for military service in Normandy, and ad hoc concessions and grants by the king-dukes, created financial opportunities for many barons, rather than imposing crippling burdens.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter should caution us against assuming the policies and practices adopted by the later Plantagenet king-dukes provoked baronial resentment, or undermined their willingness to provide military service. The fact that a large section of the baronage, including most of the leading members of the cross-Channel nobility, served in Normandy on a regular basis during these years implies a degree of consent and commitment among these barons. Their willingness is further corroborated by the absence of any evidence of coercion or punitive measures being applied to force them to serve. Both King Richard and King John needed the military resources of their barons, and a confrontational approach would have been counter-productive in the longer term. Even when such a confrontation occurred between King John and his barons in 1201 - over political issues not related to military service - the dispute was resolved very quickly, and most barons crossed to Normandy without evidence of any sanctions being applied by the king.

For many of these barons, service in the army was an important aspect of their political relationship with the king-duke, providing an opportunity to demonstrate loyalty, military prowess, and secure favours and rewards. The political aspect of this relationship was also reflected in the way the arrangements, and terms of service for campaigns, were almost certainly agreed by the king-dukes in consultation with their barons. This cooperative approach resulted in significant flexibility in the level of service required from individual barons and favourable financial terms. While paid contractual service was not fully in place in this period, the evidence shows that many barons were well remunerated for their service in the army of Normandy, either through the collection of scutage and aids from their tenants, or by direct payments

[91] *MRSN* ii pp. 531, 536 and 537.

from the king-duke. During this period vast sums were collected in the duchy and England for military expenditure, and it is likely that some of this money found its way into the hands of those barons who regularly provided military contingents for the ducal army.

During the Norman wars of King Richard and King John, all the evidence suggests that the system for obtaining military service from the barons worked effectively. The king-dukes did not require service from all their barons, but there was an important group of barons in both countries, who, because they possessed military experience and resources, were expected to serve. Generally, these barons were willing to provide this service on a regular basis, motivated by the political and financial incentives on offer from king-dukes who needed their service, and were prepared to negotiate and agree favourable terms.

CHAPTER 6

The Provision of Military Service in Normandy by the Barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that many of those barons providing regular military service in Normandy, between 1194 and 1203, held lands and interests on both sides of the Channel, suggesting these interests were a vital factor in their willingness to participate in the defence of the duchy. The barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were an important part of this group, and the service they provided for their fiefs, on both sides of the Channel, accounted for a sizeable proportion of the military resources available to the king-duke in Normandy. A close study of the military service provided by these barons, during the campaigns in Normandy, provides insight into the extent of their commitment to maintaining the connection between Normandy and England, and the factors influencing their participation in the defence of the duchy, including the importance of their own cross-Channel interests.

Baronial service in Normandy under King Richard I

During the reign of Richard I, there were campaigns in Normandy each year between 1194 and 1198, and the records confirm the presence of many barons from the Pays de Caux and Cotentin in every campaign. When the king first crossed to Normandy, in May 1194, the scutage records show that he was accompanied by many of the barons who were in England, including the earls of Arundel and Chester, Hertford and Surrey, William Marshal and Roger de Mortemer.[1] The narrative sources confirm that William Marshal was with the king when he moved south into Poitou in July, while the earl of Arundel, together with David earl of Huntingdon and Geoffrey archbishop of York, remained with the army in Normandy to oversee operations at the siege of Le Vaudreuil.[2] Most of these men continued to provide military service to the king in

[1] *PR* 6 Ric I pp. 38, 65, 119, 210. These barons are listed as receiving writs of quittance from scutage for 1194, under the heading *Isti habent quietantiam per regem de scutagio suo quia fuerunt cum rege in exercitu Normanniae*.
[2] Howden, *Chronica* iv p.197; *HGM* ii ll. 10580-10676.

1195 and 1196, and received writs of quittance from paying their scutage.[3] Earl Richard de Clare was recorded as owing scutage in 1195, but it is likely he served as he was with the king at Le Mans on 23 June, just before the outbreak of war.[4] The only potential absentee was Roger de Mortemer, who owed scutage in 1196, but it is likely he was one of the barons of the Welsh march, who were ordered by the king to remain in England with William de Briouze, to maintain security on the Anglo-Welsh border.[5]

The absence of Norman records makes it is more difficult to trace the activities of those barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin whose lands were mainly located in the duchy although, from 1195, they begin to appear in the English scutage records. In late June 1194, William du Hommet served in Normandy as he led the Norman barons in a conference near Le Vaudreuil with representatives of the French king. In 1195 and 1196, he received writs of quittance from scutage on his English lands.[6] Fulk Paynel and Ralph Taisson held fiefs in both England and Normandy owing military service, but neither appears in the English Pipe Rolls for 1194. Both served in the later campaigns of Richard. In 1196, Fulk received a writ of quittance from scutage for his Lincolnshire lands, while Ralph received writs for his lands in Kent, in 1195 and 1196.[7] It is likely that Ralph Taisson served in 1194, given his service with the king on crusade and earlier involvement with the government of the duchy.[8] William Malet received writs of quittance for his scutage in 1194 and 1195, as did William Martel in 1195.[9] There is no reference in 1194 to Ralph de Tancarville, who might have been expected to play an important role in the defence of the north-eastern marches after the loss of the counties of Eu and Aumale. It is likely that he served in

[3] See *PR* 8 Ric I pp. 10, 12, 120, 137, 162-3, 174-5, 248 for examples of references to writs of quittance given to these barons.
[4] *PR* 8 Ric I p. 287; *Itinerary* no. 453.
[5] *PR* 8 Ric I, pp. 11 and 272.
[6] Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 254-5; *PR* 8 Ric I pp. 74, 230.
[7] *PR* 8 Ric I pp. 248, 288-9.
[8] See *CDF* no. 461 for Ralph's service as a justice in the Exchequer at Caen in 1190, and *IP* pp. 217- 8 for his service with the king on the Third Crusade. In 1194, it is possible Ralph was omitted from the scutage records by error, due to the use of outdated muster rolls. This often occurred in thirteenth century musters (see J. S. Critchley, 'Summonses to military service early in the reign of Henry III', *EHR*, 85 (1971), pp. 79-95). John de Préaux, who inherited the other half of the Patricksbourne honour at the same time as Ralph, was also omitted from the scutage records in 1194, but appears in 1195 (*PR* 8 Ric I p. 288).
[9] *PR* 6 Ric I p. 38, 8 Ric I p. 119, 223.

1195, as he received a payment from the king for his military service.[10] There is no reference at all to the activities of Robert Bertran between 1194 and 1196.

A few barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin did not serve in the army in Normandy and paid scutage. In most cases, they were the heirs or widows of barons whose lands were in royal custody, such as the heir of William de Mohun, who did not come of age until 1204, Leonia d'Estouteville widow of Robert d'Estouteville lord of Valmont, and Enjuger de Bohun, heir to the honour of Bohon in the Cotentin and to Midhurst in Sussex, who did not come of age until around 1199.[11] In 1196, Henry d'Estouteville, son and heir of Robert, received a writ of quittance from scutage in England, indicating he served in the army in Normandy that year. In 1194 and 1195, scutage was collected from the English lands of William de Mowbray. He was almost certainly absent in Germany, serving as hostage for payment of the king's ransom. He appears to have returned for the 1196 campaign, when he received a writ of quittance, and was present in Normandy with the king the following year.[12]

The only active barons who avoided service in Normandy were the two principal representatives of the Reviers-Vernon family. In his account at the English Exchequer in 1194, William de Vernon earl of Devon paid £15 for his scutage and a further £45 as a fine to avoid service in Normandy.[13] His Norman cousin, Richard de Vernon, probably did not serve in 1194 and 1195, as two separate charges for his *auxilium exercitus* are recorded on the Norman Pipe Roll of 1194-5, the first an old debt from the previous year and the second a charge for the current year.[14] Richard was implicated in the conspiracy of Count John and King Philip in 1193-4, surrendering his castle of Vernon to Philip in 1193, and it is likely that his English cousin was also suspected of disloyalty. As a result, both men were disseised of their lands in 1194-

[10] *NPR* Ric I p. 10. See Chapter 5, p. 146 for further discussion of this evidence and the link to his military activities.
[11] William de Sainte-Mère-Église, the farmer of the Mohun honour of Dunster accounted for £40 scutage. Leonia d'Estouteville paid scutage on her dower lands in Cambridgeshire. Enjuger de Bohun was charged scutage for Midhurst, which was a mesne fief of the honour of Arundel (*PR* 6 Ric I, pp. 20, 79, 9, 201, 230, 257).
[12] *PR* 6 Ric I p. 162. William was a hostage for the king in Germany from 1193-4, and the writ of quittance for William in 1196 is the only indication that he had returned from Germany by this date. He was definitely back with the king in Normandy by the summer of 1197 (*Itinerary* pp. 118, 387-8; *RCR* i 49; *PR* 8 Ric I pp. 24, 272, 247).
[13] *PR* 6 Ric I p. 171.
[14] *NPR* Ric I p. 16.

5.[15] William earl of Devon may have served in Normandy in 1195 and 1196, possibly as a means of working his way back into favour. His lands in Devon and Hampshire were in royal custody for a quarter of the Exchequer year 1195-6, suggesting they may have been restored to him in December 1195, after the truce had ended the fighting that year. While in Normandy he paid the king the first instalment on a fine of 500 marks to recover his lands.

For the final two campaigns of King Richard, in 1197 and 1198, there was no formal summons of the tenants-in-chief of England, and no scutage records, and hence we are largely dependent on literary sources, and the witness lists of royal charters to identify those barons who served with the king. The campaign of 1197 against King Philip began in April, and the main activity took place in the north-eastern marches of Normandy. In May, William Marshal was present during King Richard's successful raid into the Beauvaisis and, in June or July, an important conference between Richard and Philip count of Flanders at Andely was attended by a large section of the nobility of Normandy and England, who may been serving with the king and his forces.[16] Most of the barons of the Cotentin and Pays de Caux, who had been active in the King's service in previous years, were present, including William Marshal, William du Hommet, William earl of Arundel, Ralph Taisson, Fulk Paynel, Ranulf earl of Chester, William de Warenne, Henry de Bohun, Henry d'Estouteville, and William de Mowbray. Robert Bertran was also present, suggesting his absence from the records of the earlier campaigns of Richard I may be due to lack of evidence. Apart from those who were still minors, the only significant absentees were Richard de Vernon and Ralph de Tancarville, although the latter appeared in October, at another important gathering of the king's court for the settlement with the archbishop of Rouen concerning the king's seizure of the manor of Andely. This occurred not long after the arrangement of a truce with King Philip in September, and it is possible that Ralph's absence from the court earlier in the summer was because he had

[15] Richard de Vernon's English manor Freshwater was in royal custody in 1193-4 (*PR* 6 Ric I, p. 6), and his Norman honour of Néhou in 1194-5 (*NPR* Ric I pp. 15-16). For earl William de Vernon's lands, and his fine with the king see *PR* 8 Ric I pp. 148, 201, 209.
[16] *Itinerary* p. 118. During May, King Richard had led a large raid into the Beauvaisis, burning Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme, and then, returning to Normandy, he captured the castle of Dangu in the Vexin, which is close to Andely (Diceto ii p. 152; *HGM* ii ll. 11105-308; Newburgh v p. 31).

remained in the north-eastern marches after Richard's raid into the Beauvaisis in May.[17]

In 1198, most of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were again present with the king in Normandy, including the earl of Arundel, Robert Bertran, the earl of Chester, William du Hommet, William Marshal, Ralph de Tancarville, Ralph Taisson and Earl Hamelin de Warenne.[18] William de Mowbray probably did not serve this year as he was charged 26 l. for the residue of the *auxilium exercitus* for the service of five knights he did not provide.[19] The evidence for Earl Richard de Clare and Roger de Mortemer is inconclusive. Earl Richard accounted at the Norman Exchequer for the residue of his knights but the sum owed of 127 l. 3s 4d is far too high for it be *auxilium exercitus*, unless it was a debt from a previous year when the lands were in ducal custody.[20] Roger de Mortemer may, once again, have been required to remain in service in the Welsh marches. In the late summer of 1198, Hubert Walter and Geoffrey Fitz Peter led a campaign in Wales, which probably involved many of the marcher barons.[21] Overall, the evidence for Richard's campaigns in Normandy shows the king was able to secure consistent military service from most of the leading barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. There is little evidence of coercion or pressure being applied, except perhaps in the cases of Richard de Vernon and William earl of Devon, whose failure to serve in 1194 probably resulted from their earlier disloyalty.

[17] See Diceto ii pp. 155-6 for the exchange of Andely, and Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 21 for the truce with King Philip in September.
[18] The evidence for the presence of these barons is provided by the witness lists of royal charters (*Itinerary* nos. 476, 478, 488, 489, 500, 503, 505, 508, 513, 526, 550; *LCR* nos. 85R, 86R, 89R, 127R, 131R, 134R, 199R, 261R, 399R).
[19] *NPR* Ric I pp. 216.
[20] *NPR* Ric I p. 244. In 1197-8, a *servitium debitum* of five knights would have resulted in charges of 50 l. for *auxilum exercitus* at the rate of 10 l. per fee. If it was a debt from an earlier year, the charge would have been 40 l. However, there is evidence to suggest the earl did not have possession of his Norman fief in 1194 (see p. 41 above). In which case, if it had been in ducal custody, the aid would have been levied on all the knights's fees, and the resulting debt would have been much higher.
[21] Diceto ii p. 163. The castles of Welshpool and Powis were surrendered to the forces of the king on 14 September 1198 (*Annales Cestrensis* (Chester Annals), ed. R. C. Christie (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society), vol. 14 (1886), p. 45).

Baronial service in Normandy under King John

This overall pattern of service by the barons of the Cotentin and Pays de Caux continued under King John. His first campaign in Normandy, in 1199, began after his coronation in England, and return to the duchy in late June with a large English army.[22] Most of those barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin who had served King Richard in the defence of Normandy continued to support John in his campaign to recover possession of the Plantagenet inheritance. The earl of Arundel, William du Hommet, William Marshal and Ralph Taisson were often present with the king during the second half of 1199.[23] Most other barons served with the king and received writs of quittance for their scutage payments, including the earl of Chester, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, Earl Hamelin de Warenne, William de Mowbray, William du Hommet, Ralph Taisson, William Malet, and Henry d'Estouteville.[24] There is no record of Roger de Mortemer serving in 1199. Following the disturbances in England prior to the accession of John, it may have been necessary for the marcher barons to secure the Welsh border. William de Briouze, who played a leading role in the marches under King Richard, did not go to Normandy this year.[25] Once again, it is difficult to establish whether Norman barons who did not hold fiefs in England provided their service in Normandy. Robert Bertran may have been in John's service in Normandy during April 1199, as he was excused appearance at the *curia regis* in England.[26] There is no reference to Ralph de Tancarville in Normandy but he was with the king in England in late 1200, when he was one of many barons present for the king's meeting with William king of Scots at Lincoln, in late November.[27] Reginald de Mohun and Enjuger de Bohon were still minors. There is no trace of Fulk Paynel this year although he served in later campaigns in Normandy. William de

[22] *Coggeshall* p. 100; Diceto ii p. 166.
[23] *RC* 1 Joh. pp. 21, 22, 25, 29, 30, 32 and 64; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. A. Teulet, 5 vols. (Paris, 1863-1909) p. 205, no. 499.
[24] Examples of references to writs of quittance on the Pipe Roll of 1199 are at *PR* 1 Joh. pp. 18, 20, 34, 118, 127, 162 and 180. Ranulf earl of Chester also witnessed the King's charters in Normandy (*RC* 1 Joh. pp. 18 and 30).
[25] William does not witness any royal charters in Normandy after the accession of John, in April 1199. He received a writ of quittance from scutage (*PR* 1 John pp. 118, 127) but this could have been given because William was in royal service in the Welsh marches.
[26] *RCR* i p. 266.
[27] Howden, *Chronica* iv pp. 141-2.

Vernon earl of Devon paid his scutage indicating he did not serve this year.[28] His cousin Richard de Vernon was also absent. His connection with King Philip may have been a factor while the succession of John remained in doubt. The other significant absentee was Earl Richard de Clare, who may have been out of favour and was being pursued by the exchequer in England for his debts.[29] However, his reluctance to serve may also reflect a lack of interest in Normandy.[30]

Similar levels of attendance were seen in the subsequent Norman campaigns of King John, between 1201 and 1203. The summons for the campaign of 1201 was marked by a threat from the leading barons in England to withhold their service, which is discussed further below.[31] Nevertheless, the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin served as they had done in 1199, including the earl of Arundel, Robert Bertran, the earl of Chester, William du Hommet, William Marshal, Roger de Mortemer, William de Mowbray William Malet, William Martel, Robert de Tresgoz, Richard de Vernon and Earl Hamelin de Warenne. Once again, the only absentees were William earl of Devon, who paid a large fine of 90 marks for licence to remain in England, and Earl Richard de Clare, who was charged at the exchequer for his scutage.[32] Earl Richard may have sent his eldest son, Gilbert, in his place, as the king gave him the lands of the count of Boulogne, in Harfleur and Montivilliers, in January 1202.[33]

The same individuals continued to serve in the critical campaigns of 1202 and 1203, while other barons, previously absent from the record, also began to emerge. Fulk Paynel received a writ of quittance from scutage for his lands in Yorkshire for the campaign of 1202, and was in the king's service in December of that year, when he was given custody of the ducal castle of Pontorson.[34] Both Henry d'Estouteville and Enjuger de Bohon, who was now of age, served in the duchy in both years. In 1202, Henry d'Estouteville received writs of quittance for his scutage in England and, in

[28] *PR* 1 Joh. p. 199.
[29] See Chapter 8, p. 205 for the political status of Earl Richard de Clare around this time. The earl's scutage payments, in 1199 and 1201, are recorded in *PR* 1 Joh p. 290 and *PR* 3 Joh pp. 140, 229.
[30] See Chapter 3, pp. 88-90.
[31] See Chapter 8, pp. 207-8.
[32] *PR* 1 Joh p. 99; *PR* 3 John pp. 201, 224. *RCR* i p. 442. *PR* 3 Joh pp. 140, 229.
[33] The grant of lands in Normandy by King John is at *RN* 4 Joh p. 51.
[34] *LP* 4 Joh p. 24; *RN* 5 Joh p. 101.

1203, was present with the king in Normandy.[35] Enjuger received writs of quittance from scutage in England, and also received a similar writ for his Norman lands for the army of Gascony in early 1203, indicating he was prepared to serve in the expedition.[36] Robert Bertran does not appear as he died in 1202, and his lands and heir were taken into ducal custody.[37] Even during the course of 1203, when contemporary chroniclers describe barons deserting or failing to support King John in Normandy, the records show that most barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin continued to provide military service. Only Richard de Vernon deserted in 1203, as his lands were seized around 4 August because he was with the king's enemies.[38]

The royal and ducal records for this period confirm that most barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin served regularly in Normandy, when they were able or not otherwise engaged on duties elsewhere. The only barons demonstrating any reluctance to serve were members of the Reviers-Vernon family, whose loyalty to their Plantagenet rulers was often in doubt during this period, and perhaps Earl Richard de Clare. In these two regions at least, baronial support for the campaigns in Normandy remained consistent to the end. The remainder of the chapter aims to determine why the barons served in Normandy on a regular basis, and what it reveals about their commitment to maintaining Plantagenet rule and the cross-Channel connection.

Baronial attitudes to military service

As discussed in the previous chapter, an important influence on baronial attitudes to serving in Normandy was the potential financial rewards on offer. Equally, the attractions of taking part in a campaign may have been a significant consideration for individuals. In this period, it is often overlooked that a large section of the baronage was still very much a military class whose culture and education prepared them for a martial role. The evidence shows that many of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were willing, if not enthusiastic, participants in military activities. The career

[35] *PR* 4 Joh p. 196; *RC* 5 Joh p. 104.
[36] *RN* 4 Joh p. 92.
[37] A letter of the king, issued in October 1202, gave notice that the king had granted custody of the land and heir of Robert Bertran to Robert de Thibouville (*LP* 4 Joh p. 19).
[38] *RN* 5 Joh p. 101; *LP* 4 Joh p. 24.

of William Marshal is best documented and provides extensive insight into the military culture of the aristocracy in the late twelfth century. As a youth, William was educated and trained in the military household of William de Tancarville, who maintained a large retinue of knights and was a regular participant in tournaments. The tournament circuit of northern France attracted a number of barons, including William Marshal, Ralph de Tancarville and Robert d'Estouteville.[39] Other barons built their military reputations in the service of the Plantagenets. Earl William II of Arundel became a renowned soldier in the later reign of Henry II and, in 1188-9, fought William des Barres, a famous knight of King Philip of France, in single combat.[40]

Various barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin demonstrated their military inclinations through their active participation in crusades. Roger de Mowbray spent his final years in the Holy Land, where he took part in the battle of Hattin in 1187. His son Nigel died during the Third Crusade in 1191. Ralph Taisson and Ralph de Tancarville accompanied Richard I on crusade and were present at the siege of Acre in 1191.[41] Ranulf III earl of Chester may have served on the Third Crusade and later participated in the Fifth Crusade.[42] While it is unlikely that Earl Richard de Clare served on the Third Crusade, his uncle and namesake, Richard de Clare, did so and probably led a large group of knights from the Clare estates in England.[43]

Many of the families had long traditions of providing military service to the king-dukes and we should not underestimate their sense of duty. In 1166, William de Tancarville led 28 knights to Drincourt to oppose the invasion of north-eastern Normandy by the counts of Flanders, Ponthieu and Boulogne.[44] Robert d'Estouteville had an active career in ducal service, including military responsibilities in north-

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[39] *HGM* i ll. 4457-4748. See also Crouch, *William Marshal,* for an account of William's military career. See *FR* 1 Joh p. 75 for Ralph's fine, in 1200, for participating in a prohibited tournament.
[40] William le Breton, 'Philippidos', in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed, F. Delaborde, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882), vol. ii, Book iii, ll. 462-71.
[41] *Coggeshall* p. 21, Howden, *Gesta* ii pp. 22 and 149; *IP* pp. 217-8.
[42] See Chapter 7, pp. 190 for discussion of Earl Ranulf's crusading career.
[43] In 1191, Richard de Clare was given respite from his debts at the Exchequer until the end of his crusade by writ of the king (*PR* 3 Ric I p. 33). The same year Howden recorded his death on crusade (Howden, *Chronica* iii p. 137).
[44] *HGM* i ll. 814-1115.

eastern Normandy where, in the later years of Henry II, he held the castles of Lillebonne and Lions, and had responsibilities at the castle of Arques.[45] As constables of Normandy, the Le Hommet family had important military responsibilities in the ducal household. Richard du Hommet was often with Henry II on important campaigns, including that of 1173, where he was in the army at Breteuil confronting King Louis and the rebels.[46] In 1180, Fulk I Paynel lord of Hambie served Henry II as castellan of the important frontier castles of Alencon and La Roche-Mabile.[47] Jordan Taisson had been a loyal servant of Henry II and was often present in his military campaigns, including the expedition to Brittany in 1166, when he witnessed charters given during the siege of Fougères, or during the rebellion of 1173, when he was in Henry's army at Breteuil.[48]

As Welsh marcher barons, the Mortemer family had a long history of involvement in military activity.[49] Roger de Mortemer supported the king during the rebellion of 1173-4, and probably served King Richard in the Welsh marches during the 1190s. Other barons left evidence of their military leanings. Henry d'Estouteville was one of a number of Pays de Caux barons among the defenders of Rouen during the final siege of June 1204. Enjuger de Bohon maintained a military career in King John's service after 1204, was appointed as a marshal of Normandy by the king in July 1214, and, in May 1216, set out on the Fifth Crusade.[50] The evidence shows that the majority of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin came from families with strong traditions of providing military service for the king-dukes, and hence we should not underestimate this as a factor in their willingness to serve.

There were also the practical implications to consider. Those barons who maintained retinues of knights with military experience and equipment would have been better prepared, and probably more inclined to provide military service. As discussed in Part II, the regular followers of these barons were often men of knightly status who may

[45] *NPR* Hen II pp. 49, 53, 66; *HGM* i ll. 4457-4748.
[46] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 51.
[47] *NPR* Hen II p. 13.
[48] *RAH* nos. 256-7; Howden *Gesta* i p. 52.
[49] For an account of the Mortemers' activities in Wales, see Crump, 'The Mortimer Family', pp. 117-126. For the references to Roger de Mortemer's military activity in England, in 1192-4, see *PR* 5 Ric I, p. 148.
[50] *LC* 14 Joh p. 164; *LP* 18 Joh p. 184.

have formed the small contingents required in the Plantagenet armies. William Marshal's following is best documented. He retained a group of at least twenty knights, drawn from both sides of the Channel, who were often with him and no doubt provided his contingent of knights when on campaign in Normandy.[51] William du Hommet maintained a following of knights and officials with military experience. They included Jordan de Mesnil-Avery, who at one time was seneschal of Domfront, Hugh de Cardonville, who was castellan of Gorran in 1194-5 and probably installed there by William during the absence of King Richard, and William de Solers who was among a group of tenants in Lincolnshire who held their land of William for the service of crossing with him at their expense into Normandy for 40 days.[52] Ranulf earl of Chester's regular followers in Normandy included Peter Ruauld who, in November 1203, received letters of protection from the king while he was serving the earl with horse and arms in the duchy.[53] Many members of William de Tancarville's famous retinue in the late twelfth century can be identified in his charters. Representatives of the same knightly families, such as Luke de Craménil, Roger de Lindebeuf, and Alexander de Villers, continued to appear as followers of his son Ralph after 1189.[54] Similarly, many of the followers of Roger de Mortemer included knights from his estates in the Pays de Caux, such as Roger de Pelletot, William and Roger de Saint-Laurent, and Roger de Vassonville, one of the Norman knights who participated in the tournament at Lagny in 1179. This was very much a military aristocracy, who maintained an active retinue of knights who served with them in the army of Normandy.

Another key indicator of baronial readiness to undertake military service on behalf of the king-dukes was their assumption of leadership roles in the defence and military organisation of the duchy. Such roles revealed a strong personal commitment to the defence of Normandy, particularly as these responsibilities often involved the barons in military activities in regions where they held lands. While the evidence in King Richard's reign is limited compared with that of King John, it shows that Richard

[51] See Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 143-52, and Chapter 3, pp. 78-81 for the regular followers drawn from his Norman estates.
[52] Coll. Mancel v no 2318; *NPR* Ric I p. 179; *LF* ii p. 1016.
[53] *LP* 5 Joh p. 36. Peter was a regular witness of earl Ranulf's charters (see, for example, *Chester* no. 319), and held land of the earl at Saint-Germain-de-Tallevende (Calvados, Vire) (*NPR* Ric I p. 288).
[54] Chapter 3, pp. 73-4, 90-1.

used a number of barons in key military roles. William earl of Arundel was one of the commanders overseeing siege operations at Le Vaudreuil in the summer of 1194.[55] Ranulf earl of Chester was probably given responsibilities in western Normandy, where he held a number of offices during the reign.[56] In April 1196, the earl was involved in Richard's attempt to reassert his authority in Brittany. On the king's behalf, Ranulf abducted his wife Constance duchess of Brittany at Pontorson, and confined her at his castle of Saint-James-de-Beuvron.[57] In 1195, the king gave Ralph de Tancarville 200 l., probably payment for the service of Ralph and his men in the north-eastern marches that year, where the king was besieging Arques and there were French attacks on Dieppe.[58] William Marshal also began to assume an important role in the north-east. In 1197-8, he was the king's representative with the count of Flanders in a campaign against the king of France, and took a prominent part in King Richard's raid into the Beauvaisis.[59]

The enrolled records of the chancery during the reign of King John provide more abundant evidence of the king's reliance on many of his barons to undertake military roles in the defence of the duchy. William Marshal occupied a central position in the direction of his campaigns. After the muster in England in May 1201, William and Roger de Lacy were sent to Normandy, ahead of the main army, each with 100 knights to contain the threat from the rebels.[60] From early 1202, William held a position of authority in the north-eastern marches close to the centre of his own Norman honour of Longueville. A number of royal commands were issued to William, dealing with the confiscated lands of the King's enemies in that region such as that, of 18 January, to transfer the Norman lands of the count of Boulogne to Gilbert, son of Earl Richard de Clare. In early April, William Marshal sent a force of knights and serjeants to transfer the lands of the rebellious count of Eu to his brother-

[55] See p. 149 above.
[56] *NPR* Ric I p. 201.
[57] Howden, *Chronica* iv p.7. See Chapter 7, pp. 189-92 for Ranulf's activities in Normandy, and his involvement in Breton affairs on behalf of King Richard.
[58] Howden, *Chronica* iii p. 304. *NPR* Ric I p. 10. In the Norman Pipe Roll, the record of the payment to Ralph appears within a long list of military expenses relating to north-eastern Normandy.
[59] HGM ii ll. 10773-852, 11104-308.
[60] Howden *Chronica* iv, p. 164. See Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 90-93 for a modern account of William's activities in this period.

in-law John d'Eu. Later that month, William was given custody of the castle of Lillebonne, previously held by the rebellious count of Boulogne. [61]

William's role in the north-east included responsibility for the important castle of Arques, critical to the defence of the north-eastern frontier after the loss of Eu and Aumale. There is a surviving Norman Exchequer account listing a series of loans and payments made to William for the defence of Arques, totaling 4672 l. 12 s., and covering the period from 26 April 1202 to 6 July 1203. It includes payments for knights and serjeants in his *ballia,* and a series of works on the castle and other defences of the area.[62] Ducal officials, such as William de Mortemer and William Martel, worked under William Marshal's direction. William's final recorded act in Normandy, in September 1203, was to lead an unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Chateau-Gaillard.[63]

Other cross-Channel barons of the region were active in its defence. William de Warenne son of Hamelin, who succeeded to the earldom of Surrey in May 1202, was present with William Marshal and the earl of Salisbury at Englesqueville in July 1202, monitoring King Philip's siege operations at Arques. When the news of King John's victory at Mirebeau reached the French camp, causing the abandonment of the siege, the three earls tried unsuccessfully to pursue the retreating French army. Afterwards, they went to Rouen to celebrate the King's success.[64] Like the Marshal, Earl William de Warenne had important personal interests in the area, including his Norman lordship of Bellencombre and his lands near Mortemer, now occupied by the French. Roger de Mortemer may also have been present in north-eastern Normandy, where his own lands at Mortemer had been lost and his main estates at Saint-Victor-en-Caux exposed. On 8 and 9 July 1202, letters from the king asked his chamberlain Geoffrey, and the mayor of Rouen to each provide Roger with a loan of 100 l., with the king as his pledge, almost certainly to help sustain him in military service.[65] Gilbert, son Earl Richard de Clare, was probably serving in the duchy on behalf of his

[61] *RN* 4 Joh p. 51; *LP* 3 Joh, p. 8; *LP* 3 Joh p. 9.
[62] 'Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer', ed. S. R. Packard, *Smith College Studies in History* xii (1926-7), pp. 65-9.
[63] William le Breton, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed, F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris, 1882), i pp. 212-5.
[64] *HGM* ii ll. 12117-12404.
[65] *LP* 4 Joh p. 14.

father. In addition to the earlier grant of lands at Harfleur and Montivilliers, he was rewarded with lands in the Pays de Caux, formerly belonging to Enguerran de Monteny, in September 1202.[66] Ralph de Tancarville was with the king in the Rouen area in the summer of 1203, and received a grant of privileges suggesting he was still actively supporting the king.[67]

In western Normandy, Ranulf earl of Chester continued to play an important role in defending the region where he had valuable personal interests, including the barony of Saint-Sever, offices in the Avranchin and Vire, and the castles of Vire and Saint-James de Beuvron.[68] In September 1201, his position was further enhanced by the grant of the castle of Semilly in custody.[69] In January 1203, Earl Ranulf may have been preparing a sizeable contingent of troops for the king's planned expedition into Anjou and Poitou to deal with the rebels, as he was given a large loan of 700 l. as a 'prest of Gascony'.[70] As constable of Normandy, William du Hommet continued to play an important role in the west. On 26 February 1203, he took possession of Richard de Vernon's castle of Néhou on behalf of the king and, in June 1203, he visited the castle of Mortain, with Ralph Taisson, to establish a garrison of 15 knights, 10 serjeants and 10 foot soldiers.[71] In November 1201, Ralph Taisson was appointed seneschal of Normandy and undertook a range of military responsibilities, including preparations for important campaigns and managing the distribution of garrisons to ducal castles. In early January 1203, he was ordered to bring 1000 marks to King John at Argentan, almost certainly to help finance the planned campaign into the southern Plantagenet lands. In June 1203, he ordered Richard de Fontenay, a ducal bailiff in western Normandy, to establish garrisons in Mont-Saint-Michel, Vire and Tinchebrai.[72] Ralph was given custody of important castles, such as Pontorson and Torigny, for a period before they were transferred to other castellans. He was also at the centre of the various actions to confiscate and dispose of the lands of rebels. For example, the king sent a number of orders to Ralph, following the desertion of Robert

[66] *RN* 5 Joh pp. 51,104
[67] *RC* 5 Joh. pp. 104, 109; *RN* 5 Joh. p. 32.
[68] *MRSN* ii pp. 531, 536, 537.
[69] *LP* 3 Joh, p. 1.
[70] *MRSN* ii p. 536.
[71] *LP* 4 Joh p. 12; *LP* 4 Joh p. 22; *RN* 5 Joh p. 121. See also Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 250.
[72] *LP* 3 Joh. p. 2; *RN* 4 Joh p. 68; *RN* 5 Joh. pp. 120, 121; Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 250.

count of Alençon in January 1203, to dispose of the lands of the count and his followers.[73] Ralph was replaced as seneschal, in September 1203, by William le Gras but continued to serve with King John's army in Brittany in late September.[74] Even after 1204, various barons of the region continued to serve King John in military roles, reflecting their personal desire to recover lost interests in Normandy. In 1213-4, Enjuger de Bohon was installed by King John in the Channel Isles alongside other Cotentin exiles, such as Philip d'Aubigny, Hasculf de Subligny and Thomas Paynel, in what may have been a military garrison, not only to defend the last vestige of Plantagenet Normandy, but also as a potential base to recover the Cotentin mainland should the king's planned campaign in Poitou succeed.[75] In the same year, both Enjuger and Philip d'Aubigny were appointed marshals of Normandy presumably with this intent in mind. There was a core group of barons in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, and leading members of the cross-Channel aristocracy, who appeared highly committed to defending the duchy and preserving Plantagenet rule. In the Pays de Caux, they included most of the leading barons, including William Marshal, William earl Warenne, Roger de Mortemer, William Martel, and probably Ralph de Tancarville and Henry d'Estouteville. At the head of the list in the Cotentin were William du Hommet, Ranulf earl of Chester and Ralph Taisson, and these were later joined by Fulk Paynel and Enjuger de Bohon.

Baronial opposition to military service

There were other barons whose service in Normandy in these years is less well documented, and we can be less certain about their level of commitment. They included William de Mowbray, Robert Bertran, Richard de Vernon, William earl of Devon and Earl Richard de Clare. Yet, even among these individuals, there is no specific evidence of active opposition to military service. As discussed above, the only barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin who incurred royal anger as a result of avoiding service were Richard de Vernon and William earl of Devon in 1194-5, and

[73] *LP* 4 Joh .p. 22; *LP* 4 Joh. p. 26; *RN* 4 Joh. p. 70.
[74] *LP* 5 Joh p. 34.
[75] See Chapter 4, p. 107 for the establishment of Enjuger de Bohon on lands in Guernsey, and *LC* 14 Joh p. 164 for his appointment, in 1214, as a marshal of Normandy, alongside Philip d'Aubigny. See also *LC* 9 Joh p. 104, 15 Joh p. 138 and *LP* 10 Joh p. 90 for the roles of the other individuals in the Channel Isles.

this probably reflected their associations with political opponents of the king-dukes, rather than a fundamental unwillingness to serve in Normandy. The occasional absence of Earl Richard de Clare and William de Mowbray may reflect limited enthusiasm for campaigning in Normandy, especially given the lack of evidence of any personal interest in the duchy. In Earl Richard's case, wider political issues may have been a more important factor as, in 1199, he became involved in a dangerous dispute with King John's government in England over his debts.[76] In the later campaigns of 1202 and 1203, his son and heir, Gilbert de Clare, was present in the duchy and probably served on behalf of his father.[77]

The first specific instance of opposition by lay barons to service in Normandy occurred in the spring of 1201, and may have involved various subjects of this study. According to Howden, after King John issued his summons for an expedition to Normandy, around Easter 1201, the earls of England met at Leicester and agreed they would not cross with the king unless he restored their rights.[78] As Holt argued, the baronial leaders, who may have included the earl of Chester, Earl Richard de Clare, and William de Mowbray, were using the king's dependence on their military service as a means of exerting pressure on him to address their individual claims to lands and rights.[79] As discussed above, most barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin served in Normandy this year.

The next possible instance of opposition to service in Normandy occurred in 1203, when Roger of Wendover claimed that many barons deserted the king and returned to England.[80] However, there is no other evidence to support this. Like many of their colleagues, most of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin with extensive English lands, remained with King John during his final weeks in Normandy and returned to England with him.[81] The earl of Chester, Earl Richard de Clare and Earl

[76] See Chapter 8, p. 205.
[77] The grant of lands in Normandy by King John is at *RN* 4 Joh p. 51.
[78] Howden, *Chronica* iv pp. 160-1. See Chapter 8, pp. 207-8 for a full discussion of the political aspects of this incident and the possible baronial opponents.
[79] Holt compares the actions of the earls in 1201 with those of the barons of northern England in 1213-4, who also sought to use the withholding of military service as a means of forcing other concessions from the king (Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 90-1).
[80] *Wendover* ii p. 207.
[81] *RC* 5 Joh pp. 112-114; *RN* 5 Joh pp. 37, 118.

William de Warenne were still with the king in early November, and the earl of Arundel and William Marshal crossed to England with John in early December 1203. They were part of a larger group, including Baldwin count of Aumale, Robert earl of Leicester, Roger earl of Norfolk, William earl of Salisbury, Henry earl of Hereford and William de Briouze, who stayed with the king during his final weeks in Normandy. They crossed to England either at the same time as King John, or in the weeks immediately before his departure, when it was clear that the king himself was planning to leave. They were the king's leading barons in England and natural supporters, and followed him there to assist in securing new funds and resources for a return to Normandy. On 2 January 1204, most of these men probably met with the king in council at Oxford, where they agreed measures to support the continuation of the war, including a scutage of two and a half marks per fee.[82]

The subsequent expedition to Normandy, planned for the spring of 1204, was cancelled, and the biographer of William Marshal, writing two decades later, suggests this was because many of the barons delayed too long after being summoned.[83] However, there is no other evidence to substantiate this, and the administrative records show that many of the leading barons in England were present with the king in the Portsmouth/Winchester area in early April. They included the earls of Arundel and Chester, Earl Richard de Clare, and William Marshal. Many others, such as Roger de Mortemer, William de Mowbray, and Earl William de Warenne, received writs of quittance from the scutage, suggesting they appeared at the muster ready to serve in the army.[84]

It appears that baronial opposition to service on the continent only began to emerge after the loss of Normandy in 1204, when King John directed his campaigns towards Poitou. In May 1205, his planned expedition to Poitou was cancelled when his leading barons including William Marshal, and probably William earl Warenne, advised against the expedition on account of the very strong position of the French King in

[82] *Wendover* ii p. 209.
[83] *HGM* ii ll. 12921-32.
[84] *RC* 5 Joh pp. 125-8. Writs of quittance from scutage are recorded in *PR* 6 Joh. These events, in the context of wider political developments, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, pp. 219-21.

Normandy, and the threat of invasion.[85] When the campaigns of King John were directed at defending Normandy, and looked capable of preserving the personal interests of his barons, he could count on their willing support for his campaigns. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, the loss of Normandy in 1204 profoundly altered the baronial interest in campaigns on the continent. They no longer had lands to defend there, and the shifting of emphasis to campaigning in Poitou, reduced their relevance for many barons. Such considerations almost certainly undermined the planned expedition of 1205, and contributed to the growing opposition to the king's later plans for expeditions to Poitou, between 1212 and 1214.

Conclusion

The policies and arrangements for military service under the Plantagenets, between 1194 and 1204, were successful in securing regular service in Normandy from many of their leading barons. This general pattern is reflected in the participation of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. Most served on a regular basis, and the main absentees were those barons who were minors at the time, such as Enjuger de Bohun or Reginald de Mohun. In a few cases, such as the Vernon-Reviers family and perhaps Earl Richard de Clare, their record of service was compromised at times by their political estrangement. In most cases, the service appears to have been given willingly. There is little evidence of the use of coercion or punitive measures to force barons to serve, and no evidence of any active opposition to military service in the duchy. These conclusions are at variance with established academic opinion that the barons of Normandy and England were indifferent to, or in other cases resented the need to defend Normandy during the final years of Plantagenet rule. This view is largely derived from the comments of contemporary chroniclers on the final year of King John's rule in the duchy, whereas the conclusions presented above are based mainly on the royal/ducal administrative records that provide more reliable evidence on the response of individual barons.

While the facts concerning the service of individual barons are clear, it is also important to determine why the barons cooperated in providing extensive and regular

[85] *Wendover* ii pp. 214-5; *Coggeshall* p. 152; *HGM* ii ll. 13091-13276. See Chapter 8, pp. 222-4 for Earl William de Warenne's role in the political events of 1205.

support to the king-dukes in Normandy. I have argued in the previous chapter that the Plantagenets adopted a flexible and pragmatic approach to securing military service from their barons, and avoided imposing undue burdens and costs because ultimately the king-dukes depended on the barons and their knights. The consultative approach ensured baronial engagement, and helped maintain a system that worked for both the king-dukes and the barons. The readiness of many barons to serve in Normandy was also influenced by their military inclinations. Over the course of their careers, many barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin acquired considerable military experience in other baronial households, at tournaments, on crusade and on other military campaigns. They also maintained a retinue of regular followers drawn from the knightly classes of their estates, or within the local area, who formed the core of a military contingent. For these barons, campaigns in the duchy provided opportunities to demonstrate their value to their rulers, and reap considerable financial rewards.

The evidence for the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin shows that, in many cases, their willingness extended beyond a general readiness to serve, and was driven by strong personal motives rooted in their own personal interests in Normandy, and a deep loyalty to the Plantagenet dukes. The significance of these personal motives was demonstrated most clearly by those barons who undertook roles of responsibility in the military organisation of the duchy, often in areas close to their own lands. Ranulf earl of Chester's active role in western Normandy under both king-dukes, and William Marshal's dominant role in the Pays de Caux under King John, are the outstanding examples. However, many others undertook roles in areas close to their lands including Earl William de Warenne, Henry d'Estouteville, Roger de Mortemer, William Martel and probably Ralph de Tancarville in the Pays de Caux, and William du Hommet, Ralph Taisson, Fulk Paynel and Enjuger de Bohon in the Cotentin.

The overall picture of baronial participation in the military campaigns in Normandy in this period is complex, and their attitudes determined by many different factors. However, this study demonstrates that it cannot be reduced to the general view of baronial indifference and opposition, presented in many modern accounts. An important section of the baronage in both countries were prepared to serve each year under conditions and circumstances that worked for them as much as it did for the king-duke. In many cases, this service was driven by a concern to protect their own

personal interests in the duchy, as well their political alignment with the ruling dynasty that could guarantee continued possession of their cross-Channel estates. For most of the active barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, the provision of military service created an important bond with their king-duke and engaged them more closely in the maintenance of the cross-Channel realm. Those who resided mainly in England crossed regularly to Normandy, and spent many months with their peers from the duchy. As demonstrated in previous chapters, this encouraged many to forge new social connections and acquire new cross-Channel interests.

Part IV

Baronial Politics and the Cross-Channel Connection, 1189-1204

CHAPTER 7

King Richard I and the Revival of the Cross-Channel Baronage

During the final years of the twelfth century, most of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin continued to value their interests on both sides of the Channel. They took steps to preserve and extend their landholding, developed new local connections and alliances in both Normandy and England. From 1194, most of the barons who were able turned out year after year to defend the duchy, apparently willingly, with many taking on particular responsibilities to defend those areas of Normandy where they had personal interests. These barons would naturally prefer that England and Normandy continued to be subject to the same ruler. This had been the normal state of affairs since 1066, and avoided the difficulties of serving two different, and probably hostile lords. In the period between 1189 and 1204, when the political connection between Normandy and England was threatened by the growing power and ambition of King Philip II of France, it might be expected that the political support of these barons for the Plantagenet king-dukes would be most evident.

However, as discussed above, modern scholars argue that the cross-Channel interests of the barons in Normandy and England had declined significantly, since the early twelfth century, and as a consequence, they failed to support the Plantagenets, and particularly King John, in their efforts to maintain their rule in Normandy.[1] The evidence for this rests largely on the comments of contemporary chroniclers on events during the final year of John's rule as duke of Normandy, the rebellion of a number of barons particularly in the frontier regions, and the rapid collapse of John's position in 1204. However, there has been little detailed analysis of individual baronial actions and behaviour, during this period, to substantiate this conclusion for the barons of England and Normandy as a whole. Only Daniel Power's analysis of the frontier regions of Normandy provides detailed insight into the actions and behaviour of individual families. Power concludes that the desertion of the Plantagenets by many barons in these regions was influenced primarily by local circumstances, and

[1] See Introduction, pp. 9-12.

conditions that did not necessarily apply in other regions of Normandy.[2] The intention in what follows is to examine the degree of political support provided by the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin to the Plantagenet king-dukes, and what this reveals about the significance of their own cross-Channel interests. The current chapter deals with the reign of King Richard I, who called regularly on the support of the barons to sustain the integrity of the Anglo-Norman realm, and potentially re-invigorated their cross-Channel interests. Chapter 8 examines the response of the barons to developments in the reign of King John, and particularly his loss of Normandy.

Given the nature of the evidence, and the absence of any direct insight into the motivations of individual barons, it is rarely possible to make a direct correlation between their political actions and cross-Channel interests. However, these interests were almost certainly a factor in their calculations, and recognised as such by their rulers after the loss of Normandy. In 1204 and 1205, King John came under considerable political pressure from his barons over their lost Norman lands and was compelled to provide compensation.[3] In 1213, before the projected invasion of England by his son Louis, King Philip of France was careful to reserve to himself the power to restore the English estates of his son's baronial allies.[4] Over twenty years after the loss of Normandy, Queen Blanche, widow of King Louis VIII, recognised the advantage of offering to restore the lost cross-Channel estates of Norman and English barons to secure their support for another projected invasion of England.[5] Clearly, such considerations did not emerge suddenly after 1204. The same factors must have influenced baronial actions prior to the loss of Normandy.

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[2] Power, *Norman Frontier*, particularly pp. 413, 420, 433 and 442.
[3] See Chapter 8, pp. 221-3.
[4] Louis's charter, of April 1213, records his commitment to his father: *juravi etiam et creantavi eidem patri meo quod, de feodis et terris quas barones et milites et omnes alii habent in Anglia, qui ad dictam terram acquirendam cum domino et patri meo venerint in auxilium, de feodis et terris suis eis reddendis faciam penitus ad voluntatem et consilium patri mei* (*RPA* pp. 516-7).
[5] *Diplomatic Documents, i (1101-1272)*, ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1964), no. 206. See also J. C. Holt, 'The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm', *Proceedings of the British Academy* lxi (1975), pp. 44-5, and L. Grant, *Blanche of Castile Queen of France*, (London, 2016), p. 51.

Baronial relations with the king-duke in 1189

One of the problems in maintaining a clear perspective on the reign of King Richard is that it falls between the reigns of two kings whose relations with many of their barons were problematic. Without a close examination of the evidence, it is easy to assume that the same applied under Richard. However, I will argue below that Richard effected a significant change in relations with the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin so that, after 1189, almost all actively supported the king-duke. While the king could not have foreseen the challenges to the Anglo-Norman realm that emerged in his reign, this transformation in relations created the conditions where their intrinsic loyalty to the king-duke, coupled with their own personal interests in sustaining the cross-Channel connection, allowed the king to draw fully on their political and military resources in the defence of the duchy.

This transformation was most apparent in the Pays de Caux. In the early twelfth century, the major baronial families had been important supporters of the king-dukes but, during the reign of Henry II, their influence largely vanished, or their alignment with the king-duke was compromised. Walter Giffard died without immediate heirs in 1164 and, for the rest of the reign, his extensive cross-Channel barony remained in the king's hands despite the claims of the Clare family.[6] One of the potential claimants, Earl Richard de Clare, was further disappointed in 1176, when the king arranged for his youngest son John to marry Isabella, the youngest daughter of William earl of Gloucester. They inherited all the vast Gloucester estates in England and Normandy, overriding the rights of Earl Richard's wife Amice, also the daughter of Earl William.[7] Denial of these rights was clearly felt strongly by the Clares, and they would revive their claims in later reigns.

The Warenne family had been loyal supporters of Henry II since 1164, when the king's half-brother Hamelin married the heiress Countess Isabella. However, the evidence suggests that Earl Hamelin was focused on England rather than Normandy.

[6] See Chapter 1, p. 36 for the Giffard lands and the claims of the Clare family. See also Power, 'Henry Duke of the Normans', pp. 111-2.
[7] Howden, *Gesta* i pp.124-5. Earl Richard and his son Gilbert revived their claims to the earldom of Gloucester in 1215-16, and Gilbert was acknowledged as earl of Gloucester by the regency government of Henry III in 1217 (*PR* 2 Hen III p. 76).

He rarely appeared at the ducal court, witnessing only two royal charters there during the reign, and maintained few connections with his lands and tenants.[8] The other leading baron, William de Tancarville, came from a family that had previously supported the king-dukes, but his participation in the rebellion of 1173-4 undermined his position at court.[9] The Mortemers experienced rapid swings in royal favour, reaping rewards for loyal service in the Welsh marches and during the rebellion of 1173-4, and then incurring royal displeasure when Roger de Mortemer's lands were disseised in 1179-81, probably because he had waged war against Welsh rivals without royal authority.[10] Neither Hugh nor Roger de Mortemer played any significant role in the duchy under Henry II. By the final decade of the reign, the only reliable baron in the region was Robert d'Estouteville lord of Valmont, who had pursued a career in ducal service.[11] However, Robert died in 1185 leaving a young son as heir.

Almost immediately after his accession in 1189, King Richard began to build a more reliable body of baronial supporters in the region. One of Richard's first acts was to promote William Marshal to the front rank of the cross-Channel aristocracy by granting him the marriage of the very young Isabella de Clare, heiress to Richard earl of Striguil. This bound to his side a talented soldier and leader who would play an important part in the government of England during his absence.[12] At this stage, William only held the minor Clare fief of Cottrévard, in the Pays de Caux. On 25 November 1189, the king divided the vast cross-Channel Giffard barony between William and Isabella, and Earl Richard de Clare.[13] The benefits to the king were many. It gave William the status and power to perform his role as associate justiciar during the king's absence on crusade. The grant also removed a grievance of Earl Richard de Clare, and potentially recruited him into the ranks of the royalist barons. It transformed two important families into major cross-Channel players with significant landholdings in the Pays de Caux. In the early twelfth century, the division of such an

[8] Hamelin witnessed thirteen charters of Henry II but most were given in England. Those given in Normandy were dated between 1165 and 1173 (*LCH* nos. 558 and 702). See Chapter 3, p. 72 for Earl Hamelin's limited involvement with his estates in Normandy.
[9] *Diceto* i p. 371 for his desertion of the king in 1173.
[10] Crump, 'The Mortimer Family', pp. 117-126.
[11] *NPR* Hen II p. 49. See also Chapter 1, pp. 31-2.
[12] *HGM* i ll. 9304-9398; Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 66-7.
[13] *LCR* no. 1353R; *CA* no. 564; *PR* 2 Ric I, pp. 102, 144, 145.

inheritance between heirs would have invariably resulted in one receiving the Norman lands, the other the English lands. In this case, a conscious decision was made to provide each family with a cross-Channel barony. It is not known whether this decision was made at the instigation of the king, or was the result of an agreement between the two families. However, it is consistent with other acts of the king in this period, to establish trusted allies, such as William de Forz and Ralph de Lusignan, as important cross-Channel barons on the north-east frontier of Normandy.[14]

During the early part of his reign, King Richard established excellent relations with other important Pays de Caux families. Both William de Tancarville and his son Ralph accompanied Richard on crusade. William was among the king's close supporters who witnessed his treaty with Tancred king of Sicily in November 1190, and Ralph established himself as a trusted companion of the king, escorting Queen Berengaria and Richard's sister, Queen Joan of Sicily, on their return journey from the Holy Land in 1192-3.[15] William Malet may also have been part of this close circle while on crusade. He later served in the ducal administration, holding escheats in the Pays de Caux in 1194-5, and the vicomté of Montivilliers in 1197-8.[16]

In the Cotentin, support for King Henry II was more firmly established among those barons who had traditionally served in the ducal administration. William du Hommet constable of Normandy, like his father Richard du Hommet, served the king faithfully and was often present with him. The family had profited handsomely, receiving various grants of land in Normandy and England.[17] William's affection for the king can be seen in his charters, such as those conveying gifts to the priory of Southwick for the good estate of his lord King Henry, and for the salvation of the king.[18] Fulk Paynel served Henry II in Normandy, attesting many of his charters and, in 1180, had

[14] See Chapter 1, pp. 38-40 for further discussion of the partition arrangements. For the establishment of William de Forz and Ralph de Lusignan in their cross-Channel baronies see B. English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260* (Hull, 1979), p. 30 and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Michel du Tréport*, P. P. Laffleur de Kermaingant (Paris, 1880), no 53.
[15] Howden, *Chronica* iii p 63. See *IP* p. 381 for the departure of the queens from Acre in September 1192, and *CDF* i nos. 94-5 for Ralph's presence in Rome with the two queens in April 1193.
[16] Evidence for William's participation in the crusade is at *PR* 2 Ric p. 11. For his role as a ducal official under King Richard, see *NPR* Ric I pp. 11, 238.
[17] See Chapter 2, pp. 61-2.
[18] *Southwick* i nos. 39, 74.

custody of the castles of Alençon and La Roche-Mabile.[19] In 1173-4, Richard de Vernon sided with Henry II during the rebellion of the Young King and, before 1180, was given extensive rights in the ducal forest of Montebourg.[20] Jordan Taisson also supported the king during the rebellion of 1173.[21] His son and successor Ralph became a regular member of the ducal court during the 1180s, and carried out business in England on behalf of the king.[22] Of the Cotentin families who had acquired extensive assets in England, the earls of Arundel continued to serve Henry II, were often present at his court, and played a prominent role in the king's armies in Normandy and England.[23]

However, not all Cotentin families were reliable supporters of the old king. The representatives of two families, the Bertrans and Mohuns rarely appeared as witnesses in royal charters, or were referenced in the chronicles.[24] Others, such as Hugh earl of Chester and Roger de Mowbray, were victims of Henry II's policy to recover former royal lands and escheated honours lost during the civil war. During the minority of Hugh earl of Chester in the late 1150s, the king resumed the extensive lands and offices in England and Normandy acquired by his father Earl Ranulf II. This undoubtedly led Hugh to join the rebels in 1173.[25] Roger de Mowbray's position of influence and authority in Yorkshire, established during the civil war, was diminished by the promotion of the Stuteville family. The Stutevilles laid claim to the Mowbray lands and were successful in securing a large mesne tenancy in the honour in the royal

[19] Right up to his death in 1182-3, Fulk attested many charters of Henry II in Normandy, Maine and Anjou. For examples, see RAH nos. 448, 466, 510, 600, 632, 636. For his custody of ducal castles in 1180, see *NPR* Hen II pp. 13-14.
[20] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 52; *NPR* Hen II p. 23.
[21] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 52. See also Strickland, *Young King*, p. 143 for the support of the Cotentin barons for Henry II during the rebellion of 1173-4.
[22] See *Charters and Custumals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen. Part 2. The French Estates*, ed. J. Walmsley (Oxford, 1994), no. 1, and *RAH* no. 647, for Ralph's presence in the court of the Exchequer at Caen for the settlement of important cases, and *PR* 34 Hen II, p. 180 for his crossing to Normandy at royal expense.
[23] For examples of the presence of Earl William II with the king, in both England and Normandy, see *RAH* nos. 522, 545, 672, 735. For his role in the army, see William le Breton, 'Philippidos' iii, p. 646.
[24] William IV de Mohun appeared only appeared twice as a witness in the charters of Henry II (*LCH* nos. 1933, 2364), and Robert Bertran probably only appeared once after 1173 (*LCH* nos. 167).
[25] Howden, *Gesta* i, pp. 57, 135. Strickland, *Young King*, pp. 148-9.

court. These developments led Roger de Mowbray to join the rebellion in 1173-4, and he was subsequently deprived of his castles in England.[26]

After his accession, King Richard was careful to cultivate his father's supporters among the Cotentin barons. During Richard's visit to Arundel castle on 14 and 15 October 1189, he restored the honour of Arundel to William II earl of Arundel, withheld by Henry II since the death of William's father in 1176.[27] William proffered 2000 marks for the honour although he was pardoned £200 soon afterwards. While this may seem a large sum it represented little more than three years revenue from the honour, and so was a reasonable investment for the earl. For the king, it secured the support of an important family with a history of loyalty to the Plantagenets.[28] Earl William was further rewarded, on 27 June 1190, with custody of the castle of Arundel, reflecting the king's trust in the earl.[29] Before 1191-2, Ralph Taisson, another important supporter of Henry II, was rewarded with the marriage of Matilda, one of the heiresses of Enguerran Patric, who held a valuable English barony.[30] Ralph went on crusade and would become a close companion of King Richard, who appointed him as one of three constables to lead the crusaders into Jerusalem in 1192, after the peace agreement with Saladin.[31]

William du Hommet constable of Normandy continued to be an indispensable actor in the duchy under Richard, entrusted with the ducal administration in large areas of western Normandy during the king-duke's absence. William was present at Westminster for Richard's coronation, in September 1189, and was then often with

[26] Howden, *Gesta* i p. 126, ii p. 22; Coggeshall, p. 21; *Mowbray*, pp. xxx-xxxii. Strickland, *Young King*, p. 149.
[27] See *LCR* nos. 867R, 2982R, 3588R for King Richard's presence at Arundel on these dates. Earl William was a witness for all the charters. The record of the earl's proffer for the honour is at *PR* 2 Ric I, p 129.
[28] In 1194-5, after the death of Earl William II, the honour was once again in royal custody and the annual farm produced £393 18s 6d (*PR* 7 Ric I pp. 36-7).
[29] *LCR* no. 1117R.
[30] *PR* 3 Ric I p. 143; *LF* i pp. 32-3, 51, 149, 230, 270, 618. The fact the heiresses were married to Ralph and John de Préaux, both important members of the ducal court, suggests the involvement of Henry II, or possibly Richard I, in the arrangements. The date of the marriages cannot be determined.
[31] See *Saint-Sauveur* no. 59 for the reference to Ralph taking the cross in 1188. For Ralph Taisson as a constable of King Richard on crusade, see *IP* p. 374.

the king after he crossed to Normandy and progressed through his French lands.[32] On 27 June 1190, just before the king reached Vezelay in Burgundy, the agreed departure point for the crusade, William and his brothers, Jordan and Richard, witnessed a royal charter at Montrichart. Jordan du Hommet had taken the cross and would serve as the king's constable in Palestine.[33] Around this time, the king allowed Richard du Hommet, William's eldest son, to recover two ducal estates at Pouppeville and Varreville in the Cotentin, worth 400 l. (£100).[34] The king also gave William a charter confirming all the lands acquired by him and his father in royal service in England and Normandy. This provided an important guarantee during the king's absence, since many of the estates had been granted from the escheated Giffard honour, now held by Earl Richard de Clare and William Marshal.[35]

King Richard also established good relations with families that had been out of favour under his father. Nigel de Mowbray went on crusade, suggesting he was looking to repair the family relationship with the Plantagenets. Although Nigel died at Acre in 1191, King Richard took care to safeguard the interests of his young son and heir, William de Mowbray, after his return from crusade.[36] In 1190, the king restored the Bohon inheritance to the family that had been disseised by Henry II's officials. Franco de Bohon, heir to both the Cotentin honour of Bohon and the lordship of Midhurst in Sussex, had been denied possession in the court of Henry II due to the predatory actions of Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciar, and his son-in-law, Ralph of Arden. Franco proffered 500 marks to secure his cross-Channel inheritance and was granted his lands by King Richard in a charter, given in Normandy on 31 March 1190. Soon afterwards, the king pardoned his fine.[37] The support of important cross-Channel families in the Cotentin had been further enhanced, in 1187, by the coming of age of Ranulf earl of Chester. After his father's death, Ranulf may have been a ward of Henry II who arranged his marriage, in February 1189, to Constance duchess

[32] After the coronation, William witnessed a charter of the king in England at Winchester, on 26 October 1189, and then witnessed a whole series of charters while the king was in Normandy and his other French lands, from December 1189 to 27 June 1190 (*Itinerary* nos. 107, 206-277).
[33] *LCR* no. 1117R; *IP* pp. 207-8, 353.
[34] *CN* nos. 22, 417 note; *CDF* no. 535.
[35] *LCR* no. 765R.
[36] *Itinerary* no. 1. See p. 186 below for King Richard's concessions to William de Mowbray.
[37] *LCR* no. 2219R; *PR* 2 Ric I p. 130.

of Brittany, widow of Geoffrey the king's son.[38] The marriage to a duchess was an immense privilege and implied the king placed great trust in the earl to look after his interests in Brittany.

In both the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, King Richard created a broader base of support among his barons, and revealed a political maturity that has been recognised in more recent assessments of the king.[39] His long experience in the challenging political environment of Aquitaine had probably taught Richard the importance of baronial support in maintaining effective rule. His initial success in England and Normandy was demonstrated by his progress through his continental lands in the first half of 1190, when he was accompanied by an impressive following of barons. They included William Marshal, Earl Richard de Clare, Earl Hamelin de Warenne, William earl of Arundel, Ranulf earl of Chester, William du Hommet and many others. Such an extensive gathering of the cross-Channel nobility had not been recorded for many years previously, and reflected Richard's efforts to build a more cohesive baronial community.[40]

Baronial support for King Richard during his absence, 1190-1194

During Richard's absence on crusade, and subsequent imprisonment in Germany, a significant threat to Normandy would emerge from King Philip II of France. Much would depend on the barons to maintain the integrity of the Anglo-Norman realm. Within Normandy, the ducal administration continued to be led by William fitz Ralph the seneschal, supported by William du Hommet the constable, and other ducal supporters and officials. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence on events and personalities in Normandy to determine which barons were active on behalf of King

[38] *Annales Cestriensis,* p. 41; J. A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire 1158-1203* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 157.
[39] R. Heiser, 'The Royal Familiares of King Richard I', *Medieval Prosopography* 10 No. 2 (1989), pp. 25-50; J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, 2000), especially pp. 117-22, 254-68, 348; Moss, 'The Defence of Normandy', p. 145.
[40] *Itinerary*, nos. 236-9, 242-5, 247, 256-8, 263, 264, 265, 331; *LCR* nos. 760R, 4654R, 1232R, 1362R, 3516R, 3545R. Richard's entourage, during these early months of 1190, included many other important barons of Normandy and England, including William de Forz count of Aumale, Geoffrey fitz Peter, Aubrey de Vere, Robert earl of Leicester, Walkelin de Ferrières, and Robert de Harcourt. See Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', pp. 278-34 for attendance by the magnates at the court of Henry II. See also pp. 184-6 below for a more detailed comparison of attendance at court in both reigns.

Richard.[41] Many were also absent from the duchy for much of the period. In the Pays de Caux, various barons had joined the crusade, including William de Tancarville and his son Ralph, William Malet, and various members of the Estouteville family.[42] Others, such as William Marshal, Earl Richard de Clare and Earl Hamelin de Warenne, probably remained in England.[43] Only Roger de Mortemer can be confirmed as spending time in Normandy, after he was banished from England by the chancellor in 1191. Roger was at Jumièges between April 1192 and March 1193, when he issued a charter for the abbey.[44] Similarly, in the Cotentin a number of important barons were absent on crusade, including Ralph Taisson, Jordan du Hommet, Nigel de Mowbray, and Richard de Vernon, while others, such as William de Mohun, and William earl of Arundel, probably remained in England.[45] Ranulf earl of Chester may have spent time in Normandy during this period, as one of his charters was given at Martilly, near his barony of Saint-Sever, between 1190 and 1195, but his presence there would have been limited, especially if he too went on crusade.[46]

Despite the depleted state of their resources, the loyalist barons in Normandy showed firm resolve in resisting the attempts of King Philip to dismember the duchy. In January 1192, King Philip met with the seneschal William fitz Ralph and the barons of Normandy, to persuade them to surrender the frontier castles of Gisors, Eu and Aumale, on the basis of a charter agreed with Richard the previous year. The Normans refused to comply on the grounds they had received no instructions from King Richard. Philip's own barons refused to support him in attacking the lands of a crusader and the Normans were left in peace.[47] King Philip returned to invade Normandy the following year, after hearing of the agreement on Richard's ransom.

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[41] As discussed in the Introduction (p. 20) there were few contemporary chroniclers active in Normandy during this period.
[42] Howden, *Gesta* ii pp. 63, 149; *IP* pp. 73-4, 207-8, 374; PR 2 Ric p. 11.
[43] See pp. 180-1 below for their activities in England.
[44] *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963), pp. 30-1; *ADSM* 9 H 136. The date of Roger's charter can be inferred from an agreement made in the Norman Exchequer before William fitz Ralph the seneschal, which occurred between these dates. Roger's charter confirmed the agreement (*Jumieges* no. 164).
[45] *IP* pp. 73-4, 207-8; Howden, *Gesta* ii pp. 149. For William earl of Arundel in England, see pp. 180-1 below. There is no record of William de Mohun's activities in this period, until his death in October 1193.
[46] *Chester* no. 243. See p. 190 below for the possible participation of Earl Ranulf in the Third Crusade.
[47] Howden, *Chronica* iii p. 187; Power, 'Henry, Duke of the Normans', pp. 99-100.

William of Newburgh described the Normans as broken in spirit 'like sheep having no shepherd' but this was probably based on the reaction of barons in the frontier regions, where a number deserted to Philip and he was able to secure a number of castles in the eastern marches.[48] Many frontier barons had connections across the border and had been used to exercising a degree of local control that had been curtailed by Henry II. However, circumstances were very different in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, where many families had served the dukes for generations and owed their rise to ducal favour. Most remained loyal to Richard and sought to preserve his interests. In early 1193, when Count John arrived in Normandy ready to join with King Philip, the loyalist barons, probably led by William fitz Ralph and William du Hommet, asked John to join them at a planned council at Alençon to deal with the affairs of the duchy and the king's liberation. He said he would join them only if they received him as their lord and swore fealty to him. They refused and John subsequently fled to join the French king.[49] During this period, William du Hommet was responsible for large areas of western Normandy including the farms of the vicomté of the Cotentin, Saint-Marcouf, Sainte-Mère-Église, Cherbourg, Valognes, Henneville, and the prevoté and vicomté of Vire. Such an extensive area of responsibility was unprecedented and granted to him by King Richard for strategic and military reasons.[50] William probably played a significant role in defeating Count John's followers in the county of Mortain since the damage caused by their activities was limited.[51]

Within England the administration was headed by the king's chancellor and justiciar William Longchamp bishop of Ely, although William Marshal was one of a number of associate justiciars empowered to intervene on the king's behalf.[52] Other leading barons of both the Pays de Caux and Cotentin who remained in England, including the earl of Arundel, Earl Richard de Clare and Earl Hamelin de Warenne, would play important roles in maintaining Richard's rule in England. During the initial period of the king's absence, general dissatisfaction developed with the conduct of Longchamp

[48] Newburgh, iv 36, p. 390 (*ut tanquam oves non habentes pastorem*); Powicke*, Loss of Normandy*, pp. 95-6.
[49] Howden, *Chronica* iii p. 204.
[50] *NPR* Ric I pp. 1, 3; Moss, 'Defence of Normandy', p. 148.
[51] Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 419.
[52] See Gillingham, *King Richard*, pp. 120-2 for a summary of the arrangements in England.

and he was ultimately removed from office in October 1191. One of the events that contributed to baronial opposition to Longchamp was the banishment of Roger de Mortemer from England for three years, after he was accused of conspiring with the Welsh.[53] Following Longchamp's removal, William Marshal and the other associate justiciars formed a new administration, with Walter archbishop of Rouen at their head. A committee of the leading barons in England now governed the country on Richard's behalf with the support of most of their peers.[54]

The following year, the premature return of King Philip from the crusade, in January 1192, and the growing dissension of Count John, threatened to destabilise King Richard's government. The leading barons remained firm and their position was strengthened by the arrival in England of Queen Eleanor, who came with orders from the king to restrain her son Count John from engaging in rebellious activity and joining King Philip. She summoned a series of baronial councils, held at Windsor, Oxford, London and Winchester, in order to dissuade John from defecting to King Philip.[55] This held things in check for a time but, in March 1193, news of the king's capture in Germany led Count John openly to seek to replace his brother in England and Normandy, and he allied himself with King Philip.

During this period of growing threat to the integrity of the Anglo-Norman realm, many barons were active on behalf of the king. In 1191-2, Franco de Bohon, who had been restored to his English and Norman lands, held the castles of Bristol and Sherborne on behalf of the justiciars.[56] In early 1193, many of the barons in England came together to besiege the castle of Windsor, then held by Count John's men, forcing the count to accept a truce and surrender Windsor and his other castles of Wallingford and the Peak.[57] Among them was William Marshal, who led many of the barons of the Welsh marches, including Roger de Mortemer, who appears in William Marshal's account at the exchequer for his military expenses.[58] William earl of

[53] *Devizes* pp. 30-2.
[54] See Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 138-55; *Diceto* ii p. 100 for the overthrow of Longchamp, and the establishment of a new government under Walter archbishop of Rouen.
[55] *Devizes* p. 61. See also J. Martindale, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: The Last Years' in S. D. Church (ed.), *King John: New Interpretations*, (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 141-8.
[56] *PR* 4 Ric I pp. 224, 281.
[57] Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 207-8, 212.
[58] *PR* 5 Ric I, p. 148.

Arundel had previously been an ally of Longchamp, and provided hostages after the removal of the chancellor in 1191, but, by 1193, was firmly part of the baronial leadership. After the capture of the king, Earl William was appointed to a committee to oversee the collection of the king's ransom, along with Hubert Walter and Earl Hamelin de Warenne.[59] Another group of bishops and barons, including Earl Richard de Clare, went to see King Richard in Germany to consult on the situation in the kingdom. In early 1194, with John in overt rebellion, and plotting the dismemberment of Normandy with King Philip, many of the leading barons in England attacked John's castles. In the Midlands, Ranulf earl of Chester joined with his brothers-in-law and allies, David earl of Huntingdon and William earl Ferrers, to besiege the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham. [60]

As the evidence above shows, King Philip and Count John made little headway in persuading the barons of England and Normandy to desert King Richard. A few barons from the north-eastern frontier of Normandy, including Gilbert de Vascœuil and Hugh de Gournay, along with Robert count of Meulan joined King Philip.[61] In England, the lists of Count John suôpporters on the English Pipe Rolls reveal few names of any note. The only barons of the Pays de Caux or Cotentin, who appear to have joined Count John and King Philip, were from the Vernon-Reviers family. In addition to his Cotentin interests, Richard de Vernon held the valuable frontier castelry of Vernon that was vulnerable to King Philip's forces. The easy surrender of the castle to King Philip, in the spring of 1193, was evidently regarded as suspicious by King Richard and, in 1194, Richard de Vernon's lands in England were disseised.[62] Richard de Vernon's connections with Count John may also have been a factor in his desertion, since he held five knights' fees of the honour of Mortain and witnessed various charters of John.[63] Richard's cousin in England, William earl of Devon, was also involved. He was married to the daughter of Robert count of Meulan, one of the leading rebels, but William's close connection with his Vernon relatives,

[59] Howden. *Chronica* iii, p. 212.
[60] Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 236-7.
[61] Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 419.
[62] *PR* 6 Ric I, p. 6.
[63] *RHF* xxiii p. 695. For Richard de Vernon as a follower and witness of the charters of Count John, see N. Vincent, 'Jean, comte de Mortain : le futur roi et ses domaines en Normandie. 1183-1199', in *1204, La Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens*, eds. A.-M. Flambard Héricher and V. Gazeau (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 45, 57-59.

described in an earlier chapter, was probably a factor.[64] In 1193-4, when Earl William was charged 220 marks at the Exchequer to have the king's goodwill and to receive back his lands, his fine was recorded alongside those of a number of other west country barons and knights who had supported Count John.[65] The earl of Devon paid most of his fine in 1194, and his lands were restored by 28 April 1194, when King Richard granted a charter confirming his right as earl to the third penny of Devon.[66]

Apart from the frontier regions of Normandy, most of the prominent barons remained loyal to King Richard. Many trusted supporters of the king had by now returned from crusade, including Ralph de Tancarville and Ralph Taisson.[67] The presence of these important barons no doubt strengthened the resolve of the king's supporters in the duchy. Another returning crusader, Robert earl of Leicester, and other barons in Normandy, led the defence of Rouen against the king of France.[68] For many of the barons in England, the discovery, in early 1194, of Count John's agreement to surrender most of Upper Normandy to King Philip probably strengthened their determination to support their colleagues in the duchy.[69] For barons with interests in the Pays de Caux, such as William Marshal, Earl Richard de Clare, Earl Hamelin de Warenne and Roger de Mortemer, this concession would have left them serving two lords for their cross-Channel lands. In 1193 and early 1194, when the baronial government was gathering significant military resources to confront Count John in England, they also sent knights and other troops to the duchy to support their colleagues across the Channel. There are references in Exchequer records to soldiers

[64] For the marriage of Earl William to Mabilia, daughter of Robert count of Meulan, see *Redvers* App. II nos 37 and 38. Earl William continued to maintain his connection with Count Robert, witnessing one of his charters for the abbey of Bonport, given at *Moretot* in 1197 (*Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Bonport*, ed. J. Andrieux (Evreux, 1862), no. 16).
[65] *PR* 6 Ric I, p. 218. For the fines of other rebels in Devon and Cornwall see *PR* 6 Ric I pp. 169, 173, 174.
[66] *LCR* no. 4159R; *Itinerary* no. 423.
[67] See p. 174 above for the return of Ralph de Tancarville, after escorting Queens Berengaria and Joan of Sicily on their return from the Holy Land.
[68] Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 206-7; Coggeshall, p. 62; *Les annales de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1954), p. 75.
[69] Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 236-7.

who were sent to Normandy with the count of Aumale, and references to payments made to other groups of knights who had been serving in Normandy.[70]

The level of devotion to Richard's cause shown by most barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin is quite remarkable. During his early months as king, he had created a strong personal following on both sides of the Channel, and they stood firm despite the many challenges faced during his absence. When Richard returned to England in March 1194, he found a unified baronial community, committed in their support to him, and to preserving his authority across the Anglo-Norman realm. This was recognised by the king while at Huntingdon, soon after his return to England, in early March 1194, when he gathered the leading barons in his chamber and thanked them for doing so much to defend his kingdom.[71]

Political support during the wars in Normandy (1194-1199)

The commitment of the barons to King Richard and preserving the integrity of the Anglo-Norman realm would be revealed even more clearly during the subsequent campaigns in Normandy, from 1194-8. As discussed in Chapter 6, the extensive military service provided in this period was unprecedented. Similarly, baronial attendance at Richard's courts in Normandy, particularly during the summer months and campaigning season, reflected this widespread support and marked a significant change from the previous reign. Due to the absence of place dates from most of the charters of Henry II, it is difficult to reach firm conclusions on attendance at the courts of Henry II in Normandy but there is little evidence to suggest that many large cross-Channel gatherings took place. Vincent's analysis of the charters shows that leading Norman barons, such as William de Tancarville, were mostly absent from court, while representatives of the great cross-Channel families, such as Chester,

[70] The specific references to payments for knights and troops sent to Normandy in 1193 are at *PR* 5 Ric I pp. 37, 158. In the following Exchequer year (late 1193 or early 1194), similar payments were made for the knights and serjeants sent to Normandy with Peter de Guerra, Alard the Fleming, and Roger Torel in fifteen ships (*PR* 6 Ric I p. 212). Other payments recorded on the Pipe Rolls may have been for troops sent to Normandy, such as those made in Hampshire to Guy de Saint-Valery, Henry de Bernevalle and Henry de la Wada (*PR* 5 Ric I p. 133).
[71] *HGM* ii ll. 10076-10150.

Warenne, Mowbray, Mortemer and Mohun were rarely present.[72] In contrast, from 1194 onwards, many barons from both England and Normandy gathered on a regular basis at King Richard's courts in Normandy. The royal charter evidence for the early campaigns, between 1194 and 1196, is relatively sparse but the more abundant material, from 1197 onwards, reveals extensive baronial attendance, particularly at the developing military and palace complex of Andely and locations nearby. After the campaigns in the spring of 1197, Richard's court assembled there throughout June and July, and a number of royal acts were witnessed by large numbers of barons, including William earl of Arundel, Robert Bertran, Ranulf earl of Chester, Earl Richard de Clare, Henry d'Estouteville, William du Hommet, William de Mowbray, William Marshal, Fulk Paynel, Ralph de Tancarville, Ralph Taisson, Earl Hamelin de Warenne and his son William.[73] The attendance is impressive and there are plausible reasons to explain many of the absences. Roger de Mortemer was almost certainly in the Welsh marches along with other marcher lords, such as William de Briouze, while the lords of Bohon and Mohun were minors.[74] Only Richard de Vernon is unaccounted for.

A similar picture can be reconstructed in 1198, when the court spent much of the summer, from May onwards, at Andely, apart from occasional excursions to nearby places such as Lions-la-Foret, and La Roche d'Orval. Once again, baronial attendance was impressive, particularly during June and July, although the absence of any royal acts with long witness lists probably accounts for a slight reduction in the number of barons whose presence can be confirmed.[75] Those in attendance were William earl of Arundel, Robert Bertran, Ranulf earl of Chester, William du Hommet, William Marshal, Ralph de Tancarville, Ralph Taisson, and William son of Earl Hamelin de Warenne. The evidence from royal charters, together with the military service records

[72] N. Vincent, 'Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II', pp. 84-5, and 'Court of Henry II', pp. 278-34. The barons listed above each witnessed fewer than five charters in Normandy during the long reign of Henry II.
[73] The key charters, and other evidence, demonstrating the presence of these barons with the king during this period are *LCR* nos. 719R, 761R, 988R, 3271R; *Itinerary* p. 118; *Diceto* ii pp. 155-6.
[74] See p. 189 below for Roger de Mortemer's probable service in Wales.
[75] The evidence for baronial attendance at King Richard's court in this period includes *LCR* nos. 2732R, 2763R, 169R, 2765R, 82R, 261R, 4089R, 3056R.

discussed in the previous chapter, shows that a large section of the baronage of England and Normandy were regularly present with the king in Normandy.

Throughout these years in Normandy, the king treated the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin generously but without lavish gestures of favouritism. In return, they gave him faithful service, and undertook important roles on his behalf. William III, the new earl of Arundel who succeeded his father in 1193, served as one of the commanders at the siege of Le Vaudreuil in July 1194, and was regularly present at the king's side in later years.[76] In 1195, he received substantial financial concessions for his royal service through a series of royal pardons for his outstanding debts at the Exchequer, including £545 owed to the Jews, the debts of his father of £359 13s 4d, and 760 marks for his relief.[77] Nevertheless, like his father, Earl William had to bargain with the king to secure custody of the castle and honour of Arundel in 1197, agreeing a large fine of 1000 marks.[78] William de Mowbray succeeded to the family lands on the death of his father at Acre, in 1191, and, though initially a minor, was invested with his lands in England and Normandy in 1193-4. He too gave the king faithful service, acting as one of the hostages provided to the Emperor for the payment of the ransom, and was consequently in Germany, from at least November 1193 until probably 1196. After his return, he performed regular military service in Normandy.[79] William's rewards were relatively modest but the king took care to secure his interests. The relief he paid for his extensive lands was kept to the customary amount of £100 for a baron but, more importantly, he was given immunity from prosecution in the *curia regis* while serving as a hostage in Germany. This proved useful in delaying a suit by his mother Mabilia de Mowbray, who claimed Melton in Leicestershire as part of her dower, and probably deterred the rival Stuteville family from making any further claims on the Mowbray lands in Yorkshire, during the course of the reign.[80]

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[76] William le Breton i p. 197. For Earl William's attestation of King Richard's charters in Normandy, see, for example, *Itinerary* nos. 468, 476, 478, 500 and *LCR* no. 399R.
[77] *PR* 7 Ric I pp. 69, 71-2, 238.
[78] *PR* 10 Ric I pp. 93, 227.
[79] William de Mowbray was present with the king at Speyer, along with other barons and hostages, in November 1193 (*LCR* nos. 512R; 2753R). William was with the king at Andely in the summer of 1197 (*Itinerary* p. 118).
[80] William's relief was recorded on the Pipe Roll of 1193-4 (*PR* 6 Ric I, p. 160). For William's immunity against prosecution see *Three Rolls of the King's Court*, pp. 7-8.

A number of other barons continued to serve King Richard faithfully during these years but without it seems significant rewards. In June 1194, William du Hommet led the conference with King Philip at Le Vaudreuil in Normandy, aimed at working out arrangements for peace.[81] He was present with the king on many occasions in Normandy but there is no record of William receiving any significant favours.[82] By 1195, he had accumulated large debts at the Norman Exchequer resulting from his extensive administrative responsibilities during Richard's absence. However, William was treated leniently and his debts were consolidated into a single fine of 4000 l. While he paid 700 l. in the first year, he appears to have paid little thereafter. In 1198, he paid only 140 l. and, in 1202-3, more than 2000 l. was still owing when the debt was finally pardoned by King John.[83] Ralph Taisson was a regular witness of the king's charters in Normandy but he too appeared to receive few favours despite his service on crusade. The only reference to a transaction with the ducal government is a fine agreed, in 1195, of 200 l. for permission to marry his sister to William de Soliers.[84] As discussed above, Ralph de Tancarville became a trusted follower of the king during the crusade and, in 1194-5, Ralph was given 200 l. by the king, probably for military service in the Pays de Caux and the north-eastern marches.[85]

Even the king's most important lay advisor, William Marshal, received little tangible reward. William continued to play a central role for the king, as a military commander and diplomat. He attested many royal charters in 1194-5 and, according to his biographer, participated in a number of Richard's military actions, such as the campaign in Poitou in July 1194, when the king defeated King Philip and captured much booty.[86] In 1195 and 1196, William was also active on royal business in England, when his crossings from England to Normandy were paid for by the

[81] Howden, *Chronica* iii, pp. 254-5.
[82] For examples of his presence at various locations and at different times, see *LCR* nos. 3890R, 3580R; *Itinerary* nos. 457, 482, 499, 500, 505, 508.
[83] *NPR* Ric I, pp. 3, 27-28; *MRSN* ii, pp. 511, 570.
[84] Ralph Taisson witnessed a number of the king's charters in 1197 and 1198 (*Itinerary* pp. 118, 121-2, nos. 482, 503, 550; *LCR* no. 3580R). For his fine to marry his sister to William de Soliers, see *NPR* Ric I p. 80.
[85] *NPR* Ric I pp. 4, 10.
[86] *HGM* ii ll. 10580-10676.

crown.[87] In May 1197, William participated in King Richard's raid into the Beauvaisis, resulting in the capture of the bishop of Beauvais and many other important prisoners and, in the same year, he led an embassy on behalf of King Richard to Baldwin Count of Flanders, who became an important ally in the fight against King Philip.[88] William remained with the count when he besieged the city of Arras and prevented King Philip from raising the siege.[89] William received no additional rewards during these years in Normandy although he continued to hold a number of offices in England, including the shrievalty of Sussex and custody of Bristol castle, both administered by deputies.[90] It is likely that William had set his sights on the earldom of Pembroke, held by his wife's father in the reign of King Stephen, but he had to wait for King John's accession, in 1199, before he received his comital title.[91] Richard did not feel compelled to offer lavish rewards to even his most loyal servants, suggesting he was confident in their support and that his men were ready to serve him unconditionally.

Most other barons from the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, who were not minors during this period, probably attended the ducal court or served in the army in Normandy although they appear less frequently as witnesses in King Richard's charters.[92] Robert Bertran attended the ducal court at Andely in the summer of 1197 and 1198, and attested five royal charters. His predecessors witnessed only one charter of Henry II after 1174.[93] Two of the leading English earls, Hamelin de Warenne and Richard de Clare, provided military service in Normandy and occasionally witnessed royal charters. Earl Richard was at Le Mans in June 1195, and at Rouen in September 1197. Earl Hamelin was present at Andely in the summer of 1197, although his son and heir William appeared more often in Normandy in the late 1190s, and may have

[87] PR 7 Ric I, p. 277, 8 Ric I, p. 81.
[88] *HGM* ii ll. 10580-10676, 11104-308; *PR* 10 Ric I, pp. 172.
[89] *HGM* ii ll. 10773-852.
[90] *PR* 7 Ric I p. 237, *PR* 10 Ric I, p. 151.
[91] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 70, 86, 87.
[92] See Chapter 6, pp. 149-53 for the provision of military service in Normandy by these barons.
[93] Robert witnessed five charters of King Richard in the late 1190s (*Itinerary* nos. 503 and p. 118; *LCR* nos. 86R, 89R, 261R). His predecessors witnessed six charters of Henry II overall, but only one that can be confidently dated after the great rebellion of 1173-4 (*LCH* nos. 163, 165, 167, 1330, 1866, 2446).

represented him there.[94] In 1194-5, Earl Hamelin almost certainly received assistance from the king in defending his castle and honour of Bellencombre in the eastern Pays de Caux. In 1197-8, he received a loan of from the seneschal of Normandy that was probably related to his military service.[95] Although Earl Richard de Clare served the king faithfully during his absence, he still had to pay significant fines to secure his rights. When he was with the King at Le Mans, in June 1195, he proffered £1000 to have the inheritance of his mother, Matilda de Sainte-Hilaire du Harcourt, and his reasonable share of the Giffard lands which, as we have seen, had been divided between him and William Marshal in 1189.[96]

While most barons served in Normandy between 1194 and 1198, the Welsh marcher barons were often asked to provide their military service against various Welsh lords, who were in arms against the king.[97] From 1196, these included Roger de Mortemer, who received £20 from the Exchequer to repair his castle at Radnor and did not appear in Normandy for the remainder of Richard's reign.[98] In 1197, he joined Hubert Walter, who led an army into Wales to settle a dispute between Welsh leaders, and, in 1198, was probably in the army led by Geoffrey Fitz Peter earl of Essex to rescue William de Briouze, who was besieged by the Welsh at Maud's Castle.[99]

While the limited evidence from this period often makes it difficult to make direct correlations between baronial support for the king. and pursuit of their own personal interest, the career of Ranulf earl of Chester shows both aspects in close alignment. As titular duke of Brittany, Earl Ranulf was striving in this period to establish his influence in the duchy and on the Norman-Breton frontier, objectives which supported the king's aim of re-establishing his own authority over Brittany. The events in Brittany during this period are obscure but Judith Everard has reconstructed an outline using the limited contemporary evidence, and the work of Pierre Le Baud,

[94] *LCR* no.1093R; Itinerary no. 478. For references to William, son of Earl Hamelin, in Normandy, see Itinerary nos. 478 and 479, and in *Curia Regis Rolls*, i p. 94 where, in a case heard before the curia Regis in England, William was excused appearance as he was in the duke's service across the sea.
[95] See *NPR* Ric I pp. 9, 137.
[96] *PR* 7 Ric I, p. 225. Earl Richard witnessed a charter of the king, given at Le Mans on 23 June 1195 (*LCR* no. 1093R).
[97] *Diceto* ii p. lxxix; *LCR* no.1004R.
[98] *PR* 7 Ric I, p. 108.
[99] Howden, *Chronica* iv pp. 21, 53.

a sixteenth century historian who may have had access to material since lost.[100] Clearly, Le Baud's account needs to be treated with caution but much of his narrative plausibly fills the gaps in the contemporary evidence.

After the death of Duke Geoffrey, Richard's younger brother, in 1186 at Paris, King Henry II reluctantly agreed that Geoffrey's widow Constance should continue to rule in Brittany and retain custody of Arthur, their young son and heir. Everard argues that, after his marriage to Constance in 1189, Ranulf made little impact as duke of Brittany and was never associated with any of the charters issued by his wife, who continued to rule the duchy supported by her leading barons. This is probably true in his early years as duke, before 1195, when he was absent for much of the period. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest he may have participated in the Third Crusade. Both Le Baud and the chronicle of the abbey of Dieulacres record that Ranulf accompanied King Richard on crusade, while the seals on a number of his charters from the 1190s have a cross on a shield, which strongly suggest he was a crusader.[101] In addition, there is no record of his presence in England or Normandy between 30 March 1190 and 30 July 1192, providing a potential timeframe when he may have been in Palestine.[102] Afterwards, Ranulf was preoccupied with affairs in England, in 1193 and early 1194, when he supported the justiciars in their campaign to restrain Count John.

From 1195, when King Richard tried to impose his authority in Brittany, Ranulf worked in close alliance with the king and began to build influence and connections along the Norman-Breton frontier.[103] Ranulf was almost certainly present when the king visited the earl's frontier castle at Saint-James de Beuvron, on 23 March 1195.[104]

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[100] Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins,* with additional material in *The Charters of Duchess Constance*. For the Le Baud material see P. Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne avec les chroniques des maisons de Vitré et de Laval* (Paris, 1638), pp. 109-206, and *Chronique de Vitré, pp. 33-4.*

[101] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, p. 201; 'Annals of Dieulacres Abbey', ed. G. Barraclough in *Cheshire Sheaf*, no. 10233 (26 June 1957)). See also *Chester* no. 227 and Barraclough's note on Earl Ranulf's seals.

[102] Ranulf was at Gisors, with the king, on 30 March 1190 (*LCR* no. 1362R), and his next appearance, which can be precisely dated, is a charter of Ranulf given at Coventry, on 30 July 1192 (*Chester* no. 219).

[103] See Chapter 4, pp. 119-22.

[104] *LCR* nos. 3558R, 3395R, which record the king's presence at Saint-James de Beuvron and Fougères.

According to Le Baud, the king then went on to Rennes to secure Ranulf's recognition by Constance and the Breton barons. However, they subsequently rejected him and the earl returned to Normandy.[105] The following year, King Richard tried again to impose his authority on the Bretons, who came armed to oppose him. According to Le Baud, he then summoned Constance to meet him at Rennes but she was intercepted and captured by Ranulf at Teillay, probably on the king's instruction. The dates are consistent with Howden's account but the latter describes Ranulf capturing his wife at Pontorson, and imprisoning her in his castle at Saint-James.[106] This action proved no more successful in establishing the king's or Ranulf's authority in Brittany, as the leading Breton barons, including Ranulf's neighbours Ralph de Fougères and Andrew de Vitré, assembled at Saint-Malo de Beignan, swore allegiance to Arthur, and subsequently attacked the king's lands in Normandy. In response, Richard gathered a large army and devastated the lands of the Bretons.[107] Peace was made in the summer of 1197 when, according to Howden, the king secured the allegiances of the Breton barons, who were restored to their lands in Normandy and England.[108] It was probably at this point that Ranulf began to build his connections with various families of the Norman-Breton frontier region. Geoffrey de Saint-Brice, John de Subligny and Hasculf de Subligny, future lord of Dol, attended his court in the late 1190s, and a charter of Ranulf, given in 1198 at his Christmas court at Saint-James, records a great gathering of nobles from the Norman-Breton frontier. Significantly, in 1199, Ranulf would marry the granddaughter of one of them, Ralph de Fougères.[109]

Richard's gratitude for the support of Ranulf in Brittany was reflected in a series of royal grants to the earl. In 1196, the king restored to him the manor of Great Tew (Oxfordshire), which had been given by King Stephen to Earl Ranulf II but re-possessed by Henry II in 1167.[110] In 1198, the earl received a substantial loan from the king of 700 marks, and was granted the Lincolnshire honour of Bolingbroke,

[105] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne,* p. 201.
[106] Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne,* p. 202; Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 7.
[107] *Annales de Jumièges*, p.77.
[108] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 19; Le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne,* p. 202, 'Chronique de Vitré', pp. 33-4.
[109] *Chester* nos. 279, 319, 334; *Calvados*, Le Plessis no. 1267. See Chapter 4, p. 99 for the marriage of Ranulf to Clemencia de Fougères.
[110] *Chester* no. 334.

previously held by William de Roumare who had died that year.[111] This was a sizeable honour of 35 and a half knights' fees and originally the inheritance of his great-grandmother, Lucy countess of Chester, but had passed in the early twelfth century to William de Roumare, Lucy's son by an earlier marriage. Although there is no extant royal charter confirming the grant, there are numerous charters of Earl Ranulf that show him in possession of the Roumare lands in England from 1198.

The case of Ranulf earl of Chester is unusual. Most barons in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin gave dedicated support to King Richard in Normandy but, apart from generous financial concessions, received few significant favours in return. While their own interests in the duchy were probably a factor in promoting this level of service, there is little doubt that, by the later years of his reign, many barons had formed a strong attachment to the king, and this played an important part in drawing them into his service in Normandy. This attraction was probably based in part on the king's unparalleled reputation as a military leader and crusader.[112] As demonstrated in Chapter 6, many of these barons had extensive military careers, and to be associated with the most famous soldier-king of the day enhanced their reputation and standing in aristocratic society. Similarly, the king and his court came to epitomise the new emerging culture of chivalry, emphasising the knightly virtues of honour, loyalty and generosity, often reflected in the king's dealings with his barons.[113] Richard's chivalric character is revealed particularly by his meeting with William Marshal, soon after the death of Henry II, when he generously gave the marriage of the heiress to the Striguil honour to William, who only a few days before had killed Richard's horse in battle.[114] Similarly, Ambroise, in describing Richard's concern, before his departure from the Holy Land, to secure the freedom of William de Préaux, one of his barons held prisoner by Saladin, highlights Richard's chivalric virtues of prowess, nobility and loyalty.[115] In a song written around 1188, Bertran de Born recounted that Richard 'desires honour more than any man ….he seeks honour and success so intently that

[111] *NPR* Ric I p. 201. While the Pipe Roll for 1198 does not describe the 700 marks owing as a loan, it is so described when the debt appears on the Pipe Roll for 1203 (*MRSN* II p. 536). For the grant of Bolingbroke see *Mon.* v p. 456, *Chester* nos. 278, 288.
[112] Gillingham, *King Richard*, p. 260.
[113] M. Keen, *Chivalry*, (London, 1984), p.5.
[114] *HGM* i ll. 9304-9398.
[115] *Lors fist pröesce e nature/E que prosdom e que lëaus*. *(*Ambroise, *History of the Holy War*, ed. and trans. M. Barber and M. Ailes, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, 2003), i ll. 12228-9).

his reputation consistently grows and improves'.[116] Even William le Breton, panegyrist of his enemy King Philip, describes Richard as *invictissimus*, preferring honour to advantage, and suggests that England could never have had a better ruler.[117] The generosity and even-handedness of the king is reflected in much of the evidence presented above of his dealings with the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, and clearly there was real substance to these virtues that goes beyond the panegyrics of his admiring historians. He undoubtedly attracted the loyalty, respect and willing support of many of his barons.

By attracting many members of the cross-Channel nobility to his court in Normandy, and engaging them in his campaigns to secure the duchy, it is possible King Richard effected a transformation in cross-Channel society and further strengthened baronial links and connections between the two countries. Many were probably encouraged to pursue new opportunities, and form new cross-Channel relationships, particularly as Richard's success reinforced their confidence in the future of the Anglo-Norman realm. As discussed in earlier chapters, a number of barons from the Pays de Caux and Cotentin acquired new cross-Channel interests and links during this period. The development of extensive influence in the Pays de Caux by William Marshal, and in western Normandy by Ranulf earl of Chester, almost certainly began during the period after 1194, when they were actively supporting the campaigns and activities of King Richard. Later, in the early reign of King John, a number of barons profited from the flow of escheated lands of rebels to extend their cross-Channel interests. For example, both Gilbert, son of Earl Richard de Clare, and Earl William de Warenne acquired the lands of the count of Boulogne in the Pays de Caux.[118] Ralph Taisson continued to extend his English interests by acquiring custody of the extensive English estates of his associate Henry de Tilly, after his death in 1203.[119] A number of marriage alliances in this period reflected the formation of close links between families whose main interests were on opposite sides of the Channel. In the mid 1190s, Henry d'Estouteville lord of Valmont, married Matilda, the daughter of Earl Hamelin de Warenne, after the death of her first husband Henry count of Eu in 1191.

[116] Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 260 for the quotation from Bertran de Born.
[117] William le Breton, 'Philippidos', iv ll. 393-424 (quoted in Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 268).
[118] Chapter 1, pp. 34, 42.
[119] See Chapter 2, p. 59.

Isabella, another widowed daughter of Earl Hamelin, was re-married, in the 1190s, to Gilbert, lord of L'Aigle on the Norman frontier.[120] Before 1196, Roger de Mortemer married Isabella, daughter of Walkelin, lord of the important Ferrières barony in central Normandy, a connection that brought Roger additional lands in Normandy.[121] After the dissolution of his marriage to Duchess Constance, Ranulf earl of Chester maintained his connection with the Norman-Breton aristocracy through his marriage, in 1199, to Clemencia de Fougères, who was also the granddaughter of William du Hommet.[122]

Clearly, these new cross-Channel connections cannot be explained simply by the effect of King Richard's court in Normandy bringing together barons from both sides of the Channel. Existing family relationships and local factors were important, as discussed in earlier chapters. However, many of the ties between barons, reflected in the finding of pledges for fines agreed with the king, may be directly attributable to networks established in his court in Normandy, and reflected the cross-Channel character of baronial society that had formed around Richard. For example, in 1194-5, Ralph Taisson acted as pledge for the earl of Arundel in Normandy, while Ralph de Tancarville acted as pledge for Robert de Ros, a baron from northern England, in 1197.[123] Ralph's connections and interests appeared to be largely contained in Normandy but, in 1200, when he was fined for attending a prohibited tournament in England, his sureties were William Marshal, Hugh Bardulf, Alan Fitz Count and Saer de Quency, prominent barons from England who were closely associated with the royal court.[124] In 1195, both Ranulf earl of Chester and Ralph Taisson acted as pledges for Richard d'Argences, a prominent ducal offical. In 1200, William du Hommet acted as surety for William de Mowbray's fine of 2000 marks, made with King John to obtain justice in his case against the Stutevilles.[125] While comparisons with earlier periods are difficult due to the limitations of evidence, there is a sense, during these years of Richard's presence in Normandy, of a vibrant cross-Channel

[120] See *EYC* viii pp. 20-4 for the marriages of the daughters of earl Hamelin de Warenne. After 1204, Earl William, son of Hamelin, took charge of some of the English estates of his Norman brothers-in-law.
[121] Chapter 1, pp. 33-4.
[122] See Chapter 4, p. 99.
[123] *NPR* Ric I pp. 4, 246.
[124] *FR* 1 Joh p. 75.
[125] *NPR* Ric I p. 3; *FR* 2 Joh 102.

baronial society centred on the Plantagenet court and the army in Normandy which drew to the duchy each year an important group of barons, whose main lands were in England, to serve alongside their Norman peers. This stimulated the formation of new connections between these families, and the acquisition of new cross-Channel interests that continued into the early reign of King John.

Conclusion

During the reign of Richard I, the Plantagenet hold on Normandy was threatened for the first time since the rebellion of 1173-4, and risked breaking apart the political union with England. For many barons, it raised the possibility of their lands being subject to two hostile lords. In response, the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin provided extensive support to the king in countering these threats, and preserving his rule in both countries. Even when King Richard was imprisoned in Germany, they did not waver in their commitment to him. These barons did not face the problem of ambiguous loyalties and cross-border complications of their peers on the Norman frontier. Instead, their family traditions were largely ones of loyalty and service to the king-dukes. Their natural inclinations were to secure their cross-Channel interests, and provide Richard with the political and military support he needed to preserve his rule in Normandy.

Admittedly, the character and policies of King Richard made such a choice obvious and straightforward for most of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. For those barons, brought up in the military culture of aristocratic society and conscious of the emerging chivalric values, Richard was a charismatic figure. After his exploits on crusade, his image as a soldier, statesman and noble prince was further enhanced and would attract many barons into his service. His generosity and magnanimous approach was reflected in his practical dealings with the barons of these regions, and enabled him to draw fully on their intrinsic loyalty. Perhaps, his considerable experience as duke of Aquitaine, dealing with the complex and often hostile politics of those regions, helped him recognise the importance of establishing effective relations with the barons of Normandy and England early in his reign. In 1189-90, Richard restored various barons to their ‘rights’ to lands and titles, denied by the actions of King Henry II, and which might otherwise have caused impediments in his

relations with them.[126] Later in his reign, Richard was more certain of the support of his barons, and made fewer substantial grants of lands and castles, but still gave generous financial concessions to those who were providing him with service in Normandy or elsewhere.

The close political alignment of many of these barons with King Richard is also reflected in the actions of those who further extended their personal stake and connections in both countries, encouraged by the generally successful trajectory of the campaigns of Richard in Normandy, and facilitated by their regular presence in the duchy. The reign of Richard I, and the early reign of King John, saw a number of barons acquire new lands, pursue new opportunities for advancement in ducal service, and forge new relationships with their Norman or English peers. It is likely that the short reign of Richard left a legacy of revitalised commitment to the cross-Channel connection among many of his barons. This is perhaps less visible to us today because much of its effect was wiped away by the catastrophic loss of Normandy under King John in 1204.

What is clear from the reign of King Richard, however, is the central importance of the king himself in creating the circumstances in which he was able to draw upon the intrinsic loyalty of this important group of barons. This brought stability to his rule, even during the prolonged absence of 1190-4, and contributed significantly to the array of forces Richard assembled in his war against the Capetians. Virtually all gave consistent and unambiguous support to the king, and sets his reign apart from those of his father and brother, when there were always doubts about the commitment of various barons. It suggests that the personal interests of the barons, and particularly their cross-Channel lands and connections, were important but not sufficient on their own to encourage all to give wholehearted backing to defending Normandy. During periods when relationships between king-duke and the barons were compromised, such as in the mid-twelfth century under King Stephen, barons might seek alternative ways to secure their own interests. The relations between the king-duke and

[126] In 1199, the restoration of 'rights' to lands and titles would be a significant issue for various barons at the accession of King John, and his failure to respond appropriately would undermine his relations with his barons for most of the reign (see Chapter 8, pp. 202 and 207).

individual barons needed to be set correctly to ensure there were no impediments preventing them from providing full support. In this respect, the leadership and political sensitivities of Richard ensured that the aims of the king-duke and his barons were in harmony, and he was able to bring them together, from both sides of the Channel, in common cause to defend the duchy.

CHAPTER 8

King John and Collapse of Baronial Support for his Rule in Normandy

The rule of John as duke of Normandy and king of England, from 1199-1204, provides deeper insights into the importance of baronial cross-Channel interests, and their influence on political developments. The war with King Philip of France continued for much of this period, resulting in the loss of Normandy by John in 1204. For those baronial families holding lands in Normandy and England, this created a dilemma they had not faced for over half a century, and their response provides clear evidence of the importance of their cross-Channel interests and their influence on political behaviour. At the same time, the survival of many of the enrolled records of the Plantagenet chancery, from 1199 onwards, enables a closer understanding of the activities of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin during these dramatic events.

As demonstrated in previous chapters, their cross-Channel interests remained important to many baronial families during the reign of King Richard, and were reflected in their extensive support for his campaigns in Normandy. Yet, many historians argue that there was little baronial interest in supporting King John in his continental campaigns, contributing to the loss of the duchy in 1204.[1] Hence, this chapter examines whether the extensive supported provided to his brother Richard, by the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, continued during the five years that King John ruled in Normandy, or whether their commitment was lacking. The chapter also examines how the individual barons responded to the loss of the duchy, and what this reveals about the significance of their own cross-Channel interests.

It is evident, from the very start of his reign, that John's relationship with various barons was problematic. Throughout the period, there were a number of incidents revealing baronial dissatisfaction with John's rule, and decreasing confidence on John's part in their reliability. These developments reflect the early stages of the growing baronial opposition to John's rule in England that have been the subject of

[1] See Introduction, pp. 10-12.

extensive studies. According to Holt, this opposition developed as a result of dissatisfaction with the entire system of Plantagenet government, and John's relentless exploitation of it. This was was exacerbated by John's divisive approach to patronage, with a clear distinction drawn between the king's friends and supporters, and those who were generally excluded from the benefits of royal patronage.[2] Others, such as Gillingham, highlight the failings of John as a king in precipitating the breakdown in relations with many of his barons, while both Church and Moss point to his poor political and military leadership as primary factors.[3] It is also evident that the king's relations with various barons, who remained in Normandy after 1204, were compromised during his rule in the duchy. Powicke pointed to various aspects of John's rule in Normandy that are consistent with those features of his longer reign in England, and led to baronial dissatisfaction. These include his 'absolutist' rule, his weak leadership, and the brutality of the king and his servants, highlighted by his treatment of the prisoners after the victory at Mirebeau in 1202, and the violent behaviour of his mercenaries in central Normandy in 1203.[4]

What is not clear, however, is whether these strains in the relationship weakened the support of the previously loyal barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin for King John's efforts to retain Normandy. While the historiography cited above, and the details presented below, show that many barons had issues with the nature of John's rule, eroding trust on both sides, the evidence also shows that, until the spring of 1204, the barons of these regions continued to provide the king with the same level of support and loyal service in Normandy they had given to his brother Richard. These two conflicting responses to King John recur regularly between 1199 and 1204, suggesting the barons were wrestling with a dilemma. Many of the fundamentals predisposing them to give loyal service, namely the long traditions of providing support to the king-dukes, and their own personal interests in the preservation of the cross-Channel realm, were still important and ensured there was no dramatic collapse of support in 1202-4. But the failings of the king tested their loyalty and, when they realised he was no longer capable of holding on to Normandy, perhaps made it easier

[2] Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 62-5; *The Northerners*, pp. 14, 218-19.
[3] Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 338-9; Church, *King John*, pp. 135, 139, 144; Moss, 'Defence of Normandy', p. 145,
[4] Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, pp. 164, 230, 299.

to contemplate alternative ways of securing their own interests, and break their previously close alignment with the Plantagenet cause on the continent.

Baronial support following the accession of King John

In April 1199, the political support of most cross-Channel barons for the Plantagenet king-dukes ensured the smooth succession of John in Normandy and England, despite the presence of a rival claimant, Arthur duke of Brittany. When news of Richard's impending death first reached Normandy, in early April 1199, a ducal court was in session at Le Vaudreuil to hear a case between Enjuger de Bohon and Ralph of Arden. Its cross-Channel composition was typical of Richard's courts in Normandy in the late 1190s. Those present included Hubert Walter archbishop of Canterbury, William fitz Ralph seneschal of Normandy, Savaric bishop of Bath, William Marshal, William de Ferrers earl of Derby, William du Hommet constable of Normandy, Roger de Tosny, Ralph Taisson, Robert de Harcourt, John and Peter de Préaux, Fulk Paynel, William de Mortemer and Robert de la Haye.[5] A number of other important barons were also present in the duchy, and may have been involved in the subsequent deliberations about the succession, including William de Warenne, son of Earl Hamelin, Robert earl of Leicester and William de Briouze.[6] Hence, there was strong cross-Channel representation in the group of barons potentially involved in the succession discussions, reflecting the extent to which the court in Normandy had become the main political centre for the baronage of Normandy and England under Richard.

In the council at Le Vaudreuil, Hubert Walter read out a letter from the dying king, setting out arrangements for the succession, and for securing the principal strongholds of the duchy, including the appointment of William Marshal as constable of the tower of Rouen.[7] There is no record of any subsequent discussion by the barons but the essence of the debate may have been captured in a conversation between Hubert

[5] *Curia Regis Rolls*, vi pp. 398-9.
[6] *LCR* nos. 298R, 2784R, 1257R, 1096R. Robert earl of Leicester was with King Richard on 1 March 1199. William de Briouze was with King Richard at Chaluz, in Poitou, on 5 April, and may have been among those who brought news of the king's death to Normandy. William de Warenne was excused from a case in the curia Regis heard on 19 April because he was in Normandy (*RCR* i p. 290).
[7] *HGM* ii ll. 11789-812.

Walter and William Marshal, recorded by the latter's biographer. Hubert represented the views of the barons who had misgivings about John, given his treacherous past, and asserted that Arthur had the better claim. William, a supporter of John, pressed his case, arguing that custom favoured John's claim, and voicing the antipathy of many of the barons to Arthur as a candidate, based on his Breton connections and supporters.[8] John's greatest advantage however was that Richard had designated him as his successor, and most barons would have been inclined to follow the dictates of the king they had served so loyally.[9]

The strong cross-Channel representation in this group of barons involved in the succession discussions probably facilitated John's succession in both Normandy and England. After the investiture of John as duke in Rouen, on 25 April, there is no evidence that anyone contemplated any alternative for the succession in England.[10] No action was taken there to bring the barons together to consider the succession until William Marshal and Hubert Walter crossed to England with their mandate from the barons in Normandy. This highlighted the dependency for political direction on what had been King Richard's court in Normandy, and the unity this engendered between the barons in both countries.[11]

Nevertheless, when they arrived in England around the end of April, William and Hubert anticipated that various barons in England might share the same concerns about John's treacherous past that Hubert himself had raised in Normandy. Hence, they summoned the barons to a council at Northampton. Those named by Howden as potentially harbouring concerns included Earl Richard de Clare, Ranulf earl of Chester, and William de Mowbray. During this period, Earl Ranulf frequently

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[8] The discussion between Hubert Walter and William Marshal is recorded in *HGM* ii ll. 11835-908. For a summary of contemporary custom, as it applied to the succession of 1199, see J. C. Holt, 'The *casus regis*: the law and politics of succession in the Plantagenet dominions, 1185-1247', *Sewanee Medieval Colloquium* (Sewanee, 1987), ed. E. B. King and S. J. Ridyard, pp. 21-42. See also Holt's summary of existing custom and law as it applied specifically to the issues surrounding the succession in 1199 (J. C. Holt, 'King John and Arthur of Brittany', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 44 (2000), pp. 84-5).

[9] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 83.

[10] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 87.

[11] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 88. Geoffrey fitz Peter, the justiciar, was in England at the time and would have been an obvious candidate to call a council of the barons in England to discuss the succession. Instead, he awaited the arrival of William Marshal and Hubert Walter from Normandy.

revealed signs of an ambiguous relationship with King John, and his doubts were shared by a number of his close allies, including his brothers-in-law David earl of Huntingdon, and William de Ferrers earl of Derby, his tenant and associate Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester and lord of Pontefract, and his neighbour Waleran earl of Warwick.[12] It is also significant that most of these barons had been involved in seizing John's lands and castles during his rebellion against King Richard in 1193-4, and may have been known for their antipathy to the king-designate.[13]

It was probably these same barons who secured from William Marshal and Hubert Walter an undertaking that John would restore their rights.[14] The accession of a new king was generally a time when barons sought recognition of old claims to lands and titles. In 1189, King Richard had recognised the 'rights' of a number of barons.[15] Many of the barons assembled at Northampton, in 1199, may have doubted John's willingness to address the claims of men who had opposed him in 1193-4, and therefore secured a public commitment as the price of their support. The rights that Ranulf earl of Chester probably had in mind were the many properties and offices acquired by his grandfather Ranulf II but recovered by Henry II after the former's death in 1153. King Richard had recognised a number of the earl's claims to lands in England, but Ranulf probably hoped to recover other acquisitions of his grandfather, including the castelry and vicomté of Vire, close to his lands in the Cotentin, and other lands and rights in England, such as the counties of Staffordshire and Lancashire.[16] Twenty years earlier, Earl Richard de Clare and his wife Amice had

[12] See Chapter 4, pp. 118 and 120 for Ranulf's connections with these barons. Various historians, such as Painter, have suggested Ranulf was looking to extract significant concessions from the king for his support (S. Painter, *William Marshal: Knight Errant, Baron and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 121). Others believe this was not the case (Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester*, p. 9).

[13] See Chapter 7, p. 182 for the role of Ranulf earl of Chester, David earl of Huntingdon, William earl Ferrers, and Richard earl of Clare in suppressing John's rebellion against his brother in 1193-4.

[14] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 88. According to Howden, the barons were promised that *Johannes Normannorum dux redderet unicuique illorum jus suum,* phraseology that is similar to that used in the later demands of the baronial opposition to King John in 1215 (Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 121-3).

[15] Howden, *Chronica* iii pp. 4-5. See also Chapter 7, pp. 173-8.

[16] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1135-1154 iii, Regesta regis Stephani ac Mathildis imperatricis et Gaufridi et Henrici ducis normannorum*, 1135-54, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), no. 180. Ranulf recovered Vire soon after these events (see pp. 210-11 below). He subsequently secured the counties of Staffordshire and Lancashire for a time, after 1215-16 (D. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, (London, 1990), pp. 80-1). See also

been deprived of their share of the earldom of Gloucester, in favour of John and his wife.[17] William de Mowbray may have recalled the diminution of the family's power in Yorkshire under Henry II that prompted his later claim, in 1215, to the castle and earldom of York.[18]

Despite the initial misgivings, John was able to draw upon the support of barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin for his campaigns in Normandy and the other Plantagenet lands, after May 1199. William earl of Arundel, Ranulf earl of Chester, Henry d'Estouteville, William du Hommet, William Marshal, and Ralph Taisson attested royal charters during this period.[19] Others, such as William de Mowbray and Earl Hamelin de Warenne, almost certainly provided military service in Normandy. The willingness of these barons to support King John in securing the rest of the Plantagenet inheritance, ratified in the treaty with King Philip at Le Goulet in May 1200, demonstrates the still powerful alignment of baronial interests and loyalties with a king-duke who was able to maintain his rule over both England and Normandy.

Nevertheless, baronial concerns about the nature of John's rule persisted and would emerge again two years later. It is likely that the king's failure to respond satisfactorily to their demand at Northampton, for restoration of their rights, was the principal reason for their continuing dissatisfaction. He tended to reward his favourites, and those who had stuck by him after his disgrace in 1194, rather than adopting the even-handed approach of his brother Richard. The leading beneficiaries of John's patronage were the triumvirate who had worked for his succession. Around the time of John's coronation in May 1199, Archbishop Hubert Walter was made chancellor, Geoffrey fitz Peter, the justiciar, earl of Essex, and William Marshal was confirmed as earl of Pembroke.[20] For a number of years, William had been carefully

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Moss, 'Norman Exchequer Rolls', pp. 105-8, who suggests that the earl was seeking restoration of his fief held of the bishop of Bayeux, although there is no evidence to suggest he did not already have possession in 1199.

[17] See Chapter 1, pp. 41.

[18] *LP* 17 Joh p. 143; *LC* 17 Joh p. 215; see also Holt, *Magna Carta,* p. 358.

[19] *RC* 1 Joh p. 29 (Arundel); *RC* 1 Joh, p. 30 (Chester); *RC* 1 Joh p. 18 (Estouteville); *RC* 1 Joh pp. 22, 25, 30, 32, 64 (Le Hommet); *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, p. 205 no. 499 (Marshal); *RC* 1 Joh pp. 21, 64 (Taisson). See also Chapter 6, pp. 154-6 for evidence of the military service provided by the barons during John's campaigns of 1199-1200.

[20] Howden, *Chronica*, iv pp. 89-90; Crouch, *William Marshal* pp. 86-7. The earldom of Pembroke, granted to the family of Isabella de Clare, William's wife, by King Stephen, had

cultivating his links with John. His elder brother, John Marshal, had supported the rebellion of John in 1193-4, and probably died defending Marlborough castle on his behalf.[21] Although William was one of King Richard's justiciars during John's rebellion, he tried to maintain amicable relations with John for as long as possible and, after Richard's return to England in 1194, William Longchamp, the former chancellor, openly accused William of 'planting vines' by currying favour with John.[22] After his accession, John remained highly dependent on William's military experience and advice, and gave him further lands in Ireland, the port of Bosham and lands in Wiltshire, formerly held by his brother John Marshal.[23] William also made gains in Normandy, where he was probably given the barony of Orbec, previously held by his wife's ancestors in the early twelfth century but lost during the civil war of King Stephen's reign.[24]

The king addressed a few of the claims of Ranulf earl of Chester. Although not a royal favourite, Ranulf's wealth and power in England and western Normandy probably made his support essential. The earl was granted the bailiwick of Vire, one of the offices formerly held by his grandfather, complementing his other hereditary offices in western Normandy.[25] One further potential complication in Ranulf's relationship with King John was removed when his politically inconvenient marriage with Constance duchess of Brittany, mother of Arthur, was dissolved, possibly on Ranulf's initiative.[26]

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been taken from her father by Henry II. The lands associated with the earldom in Wales were released to William over the course of the next year.

[21] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 80-1.

[22] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 79; *HGM* ii ll. 10289-10340.

[23] *RC* 1 Joh pp. 46, 47; Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 89.

[24] Power, 'The French interests of the Marshal earls', p. 203.

[25] *MRSN* ii pp. 531, 536, 537. The Norman Pipe Roll evidence indicates the grant of Vire took place in 1199-1200. Daniel Power suggests that Earl Ranulf used the accession to make good his claim to the bailiwick (Power, 'French interests of the Marshal earls', p. 207). Painter argued that Ranulf was victimized by King John in these early years of the reign, however, there is little evidence, and he was probably not aware of the grant of Vire, and other castles in Normandy, in these early years of the reign (S. Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 8).

[26] In October 1199, Constance married Guy de Thouars and, hence, the dissolution of her marriage to Ranulf must have occurred before this date (Howden, *Chronica* iv, p. 97). According to the annals of the abbeys of Dieulacres and St Werburgh's Chester, it was Ranulf who decided to dissolve the marriage (*Annales Cestrensis* (Chester Annals), ed. R. C. Christie, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, vol. 14, (London, 1886); 'Annals of Dieulacres Abbey', ed. G. Barraclough in *Cheshire Sheaf*, no. 10233 (26 June 1957). See Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins*, p. 171.

While King John went to great lengths to secure the services of barons whose support was essential to his regime, he was equally prepared to ignore the claims of other barons. He had a clear opportunity to address the claim of Earl Richard de Clare to the Gloucester inheritance when, in 1199, the king's marriage to Isabella countess of Gloucester was dissolved. John should then have relinquished possession of the lands of the earldom of Gloucester in England and Normandy, allowing a division of the inheritance, in line with established custom, between Isabella and her two sisters, Amice, wife of Earl Richard, and Mabilia, countess of Evreux. The king gave part of the inheritance to Mabilia and her husband Count Amaury in May 1200, in compensation for the loss of the county of Evreux, but he gave nothing to Amice and Earl Richard.[27] The earl seemed well out of favour at this time. In 1199, he did not follow the king to Normandy, and was being pursued over his debts at the Exchequer. He was summoned to appear before the barons of the Exchequer, on 20 February 1200, although the chancellor Archbishop Hubert Walter subsequently accepted the earl's argument that the repayments demanded were excessive.[28]

In other cases, the advancement of King John's supporters was achieved at the expense of other important barons. The Stuteville family in Yorkshire had been favourites of Henry II and acquired lands at the expense of the Mowbray family. William de Stuteville was on good terms with John and, after 1199, was rewarded with the shrievalties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and later that of Yorkshire.[29] As a confirmed favourite of the king, William saw an opportunity to renew the claim against the Mowbrays and, in April 1200, he paid the king 1000 marks to have confirmation of his charters and the right to the lands he claimed against William de Mowbray.[30] Political manipulation was evident when the case was adjourned until it could be heard before the king when he was in Lincolnshire, in January 1201. No doubt fearing the worst, William de Mowbray offered the king 2000 marks to be treated with justice and according to the custom of England.[31]

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[27] Coggeshall p. 101.
[28] *Memoranda Roll for 1 John*, ed. H. J. Richardson (PRS, 1943), pp. 22, 79 and 80. See Chapter 6, p. 155 for the earl's failure to provide military service in Normandy in 1199.
[29] Howden, *Chronica* iv p. 91; *FR* 3 Joh pp. 109, 119.
[30] *PR* 1 Joh pp. 52, 56. *RC* 1 Joh p. 62.
[31] *FR* 2 Joh p 102.

Predictably, however, the king found in favour of William de Stuteville, and William de Mowbray was forced to concede lands and ten knights' fees to the Stutevilles.[32] This case, probably more than any other, signaled a fundamental change in King John's approach to patronage, with predatory royal favourites able to secure advantage over rivals through the manipulation of justice. This bitter experience and the loss of lands, despite the proffer of a large fine, propelled William de Mowbray towards a career of opposition to the king, after having faithfully served his brother Richard.[33]

Other families may also have suffered at the hands of royal favourites. The lands of the Mohun family in Normandy and England had been in royal custody since the death of William de Mohun in 1193, leaving two young sons as heirs. Under Richard, the Norman lands appear to have been farmed by local men, such as Thomas de Periers, who was associated with the Mohuns. William's widow, Lucy de Mohun, also secured custody of various lands including the centre of the Norman barony at Moyon, and some of the English lands.[34] However, under King John, his favourite Hubert de Burgh moved in. By May 1202, he had possession of the castle of Dunster and, in January of the following year, all the Norman lands were given to Hubert.[35] The king's inconsistent treatment of his barons, rewarding favourites and old supporters but denying justice to others, or allowing his favourites to exploit their lands, risked compromising the support of important men such as Earl Richard de Clare and William de Mowbray. While he was at peace with the king of France, John could get away with this. However, in 1201, when war appeared likely, he once again needed the support of his barons in Normandy.

[32] *CR* i pp. 380, 440.
[33] See Holt, *Magna Carta*, pp. 143-4, 146, who cites this as an example of the king's manipulation of royal justice to suit his political ends, and supporting the predatory actions of a royal favourite. See also Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 21-2 for the debts of William as a contributory factor in his rebellion in 1215.
[34] See Chapter 4, pp. 115-6 for Lucy de Mohun's fine, and the associations of the Periers family with the Mohuns. See *PR* 3 Joh p.36 for her possession of seven knights' fees in the honour of Dunster.
[35] *LP* 3 Joh p. 6; *RN* 4 Joh p. 68.

Political support for King John's wars in Normandy (1201-1203)

The outbreak of war prompted a number of leading barons in England to protest against the king's failure to fulfill the undertaking made at Northampton to restore their rights. After Easter 1201, King John issued a summons to the barons in England to accompany him on a military expedition to Normandy but the earls of England gathered at Leicester and refused to go unless the king restored their rights.[36] It is not known which particular barons met at Leicester, although the location of the meeting implies the participation, and probable leadership, of Robert earl of Leicester, one of King Richard's military leaders in Normandy. Many of those named in the summons to Northampton, in April 1199, were probably involved, including Ranulf earl of Chester, Earl Richard de Clare, William de Ferrers earl of Derby, David earl of Huntingdon and William de Mowbray. Most of these individuals did not appear with the king after Easter (25 March), while earl Ranulf appeared only on 3 April at Windsor, and Robert earl of Leicester on 18 April at Westminster. The gap between these two dates might suggest a likely timeframe for the meeting at Leicester.[37]

As Holt concluded, the barons were not challenging the king's right to ask them to do military service in Normandy but were using the king's dependence on their support as a means of exerting pressure on him to address their claims.[38] The king responded with threats, ordering the seizure of the barons' castles, but the only action recorded by Howden was against William d'Aubigny's castle of Belvoir. It is likely the barons backed down, assembling at Portsmouth in May when, according to Howden and Wendover, the king took cash from them, presumably in the form of scutage and fines, and allowed them to return home.[39] While the official records suggest this was true for many of the lesser barons and knights, who did not normally serve overseas, most of the leading barons, and those with Norman lands, crossed to Normandy and served with the king as they had done in previous years. Those who served in

[36] Howden, *Chronica* iv, p. 161. The earls' demands (*nisi ille reddiderit eis jura sua)* are described in similar terms to the promise made at Northampton in 1199 (see pp. 202-3 above).
[37] *RC 2* Joh pp. 67, 92.
[38] Holt, *Magna Carta*, p. 123.
[39] Howden, *Chronica* iv, p. 163; Wendover ii p. 201.

Normandy included William earl of Arundel, Ranulf earl of Chester, Roger de Mortemer, William de Mowbray, William Marshal, and Earl Hamelin de Warenne.[40]

For the subsequent campaigns in Normandy, from 1202-3, the king was supported by most of the leading barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. On the surface, it appears their fundamental loyalties to the king-duke, and concern for their own cross-Channel interests, were still intact. However, the opposition of leading barons, revealed at Leicester in 1201, demonstrates that personal mistrust of King John persisted. When full-scale war with King Philip broke out in the spring of 1202, King John's lack of faith in his barons became increasingly apparent. He began to dispense grants and favours to them on an unprecedented scale, suggesting a desperate need to buy their service, a practice later repeated for his campaigns in Poitou.[41] As a result, families previously out of favour, such as the Clares and Mowbrays, began to receive rewards for their service in Normandy. By January 1202, Gilbert de Clare, son of Earl Richard, was in the king's service in Normandy and was given the lands of the count of Boulogne at Harfleur and Montivilliers, and, in September the following year, he received additional lands seized from a rebel.[42] In 1202, William de Mowbray, received a loan from the king of 140 l., and payments were suspended on his large fine arising from the Stuteville case. In 1203, he too was given lands taken from rebels.[43]

The king's lack of confidence in his barons was most apparent in the southern Cotentin and Avranchin, previously regions where support for the king-dukes had been strong. Here, the king was particularly dependent on Ranulf earl of Chester and his many allies. Following his grant to the earl of Vire, in 1199, the king had taken further steps to secure the earl's support. In 1200, he upheld Ranulf's claim to the honour of Croisilles and Saye, gave him custody of the castle of Semilly in September 1201, and suspended payments on the earl's substantial debts at the Norman

[40] See Chapter 6, p. 155 for details of the military service provided by the barons in 1201.
[41] See Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 131-2, and *Magna Carta*, p. 177 for examples of the system of inducements used by King John, in return for baronial service, in his campaigns in Normandy and Poitou.
[42] *RN* 4 Joh p. 51; *RN* 5 Joh p. 104.
[43] *MRSN* ii p. 536; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, p. 215; *RL* 5 Joh p. 66;.

exchequer.[44] However, in the spring of 1202, after the desertion of Arthur duke of Brittany, King John's rival for the Plantagenet inheritance, the king probably became concerned about Ranulf's Breton connections.[45] The earl was now married to Clemencia, daughter of William de Fougères, a Norman-Breton family with a long history of changing loyalties. On 29 March 1202, soon after Arthur's defection, King John sent letters to a number of powerful individuals in Maine, Anjou and the Touraine, who had previously declared for Arthur in 1199, but also to Earl Ranulf. Although the content of the letters is not known, their timing, and the fact the recipients were asked to attach their seals, suggest the king was seeking assurances of loyalty from barons who had previously supported Arthur.[46] If so, it suggests the king was also concerned about the loyalties of Earl Ranulf.

After the capture of Arthur and his allies at Mirebeau, in July 1202, and King John's subsequent mistreatment of them, many of the Angevin and Manceaux barons deserted, while the barons of Brittany made war on the Norman frontier. In the early months of 1203, the disaffection spread to the southern frontier of Normandy and raised doubts about the loyalty of other barons in central and western parts of the duchy. In January 1203, Robert count of Sées and his supporters joined the rebels, while a subsequent attempt by King John to lead an army against Alençon from central Normandy was, according to the reminscences of Norman officials over twenty years later, undermined by the treachery of the barons who were outraged by the depredations of the king's mercenaries.[47] The history of William Marshal describes the king avoiding the main roads of Normandy for fear of traitors and rebels, and trusting no one after the desertion of the count of Sées.[48]

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[44] *LP* 1 Joh p. 29, 3 Joh p. 7 and *RN* 2 Joh p. 39. In 1203, the earl owed more than 8500 l. at the Norman Exchequer on which virtually nothing had been paid since 1198 (*MRSN* ii p. 531). See also Moss, 'Norman Exchequer Rolls', pp. 105-8.

[45] Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. and transl. E. Carpentier, G. Pon and Y Chauvin (Paris, 2006), i pp.151-3; Coggeshall p. 136.

[46] *LP* 3 Joh p 8. See also Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 257-8, and D. J. Power, 'Guérin de Glapion, Seneschal of Normandy (1200-1): Service and Ambition under the Plantagenet and Capetian Kings', in N. Vincent (ed.), *Records, Administration and Aristocratic Society in the Anglo-Norman Realm. Papers Commemorating the 800th Anniversary of King John's Loss of Normandy* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 171.

[47] The role of the barons in undermining the expedition to Alençon is recounted in the letter of Gaudin, a citizen of Caen, sent to Henry III in 1227 (*Diplomatic Documents i*, no. 206). See also Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 438-40, and 'Norman Aristocracy' p. 132.

[48] *HGM* ii ll. 12569-84, 12621-63.

In this atmosphere of treachery and suspicion, King John began to harbour doubts about the loyalty of his barons in the Cotentin and Avranchin, particularly those with links to the king of France or the Breton rebels. On 9 February 1203, Richard de Vernon's castle of Néhou was taken into custody and, by 26 February, transferred into the more reliable hands of William du Hommet.[49] Richard was no doubt suspected because he held lands of King Philip. On 19 February 1203, Ranulf earl of Chester was deprived of the bailliwick of Avranches, while his ally Fulk Paynel was removed as castellan of Pontorson.[50] Subsequently, the king sent his half-brother, William earl of Salisbury, to the region to take charge of Avranches and Pontorson.[51] At least two of Ranulf's other connections, William de Fougères, great-uncle of Ranulf's wife Clemencia de Fougères, and Andrew de Vitré, had been among the Breton rebels since late 1202, and the king suspected Ranulf and Fulk were planning to desert. Both were summoned to meet the king at Vire on 11 April.[52]

It cannot be established whether these barons in western Normandy were planning to desert King John although it is likely the king's knowledge of their close connections with the Breton rebels was the chief cause of his suspicions. Both Ranulf and Fulk denied the reports when they appeared before the king at Vire. However, the earl was forced to surrender the castle of Semilly, while Fulk had to provide his son as a hostage. Other barons of the region, including William du Hommet, Roger constable of Chester, Ralph Taisson and Robert de Tresgoz, all close connections of Earl Ranulf, were among those who gave pledges for his loyalty and provided hostages. The fact that these men, all loyal servants of the Plantagenet government in the duchy, were required to furnish guarantees of their loyalty suggests the king's distrust of his barons ran deep, and gives credence to the statements of the chroniclers.

The relationship between the king and his Cotentin barons appeared to improve after April. The king could not dispense with the support of Ranulf earl of Chester in western Normandy and, by 31 May 1203, he was restored to favour, when he

[49] *LP* 4 Joh pp. 24, 25. See Chapter 2, p. 64 for the lands held by the Vernons of the king of France.
[50] *LP* 4 Joh p. 25
[51] *RN* 4 Joh pp. 85, 88.
[52] *LP* 4 Joh p. 29; Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 441.

recovered the castle of Semilly and the bailiwick of Avranches. The earl remained close to the king in Normandy for the rest of the year.[53] Ralph Taisson, who had been appointed seneschal of Normandy in 1201, was given custody of the castle of Torigny in March 1203.[54] In August, Ralph was replaced as seneschal of Normandy by William le Gros but appears to have retained the king's trust and, in September, was present during John's last military expedition in Normandy, when he raided eastern Brittany.[55] In December, Ralph was given custody of the heir and cross-Channel lands of his former associate Henry de Tilly, suggesting he still retained royal favour.[56] William du Hommet the constable of Normandy was active in the king's service in 1202-3, taking custody of the lands and castles of rebels, and undertaking extensive duties in military administration. In 1203, most of his outstanding debts at the Norman exchequer, amounting to 2000 livres, were pardoned.[57] The only baron of the region to desert to King Philip was Richard de Vernon, whose Cotentin honour was seized in August 1203. The lands were transferred to the custody of Thomas du Hommet, the son of the constable, demonstrating that the Le Hommets were still seen by King John as trusted supporters.[58]

Throughout this period, the Pays de Caux remained loyal to King John. The leading barons of the region, including all the great cross-Channel landholders, were active in the service of the king-duke. William Marshal remained one of King John's principal military commanders and, in 1202-3, was entrusted with the defence of north-eastern Normandy, where most of his Norman land were located.[59] He was supported in this role by the king's cousin, Earl William de Warenne, who succeeded his father Earl Hamelin in May 1202, as one of the more important cross-Channel landholders of the region.[60] Earl William was present with William Marshal, and William earl of Salisbury, the king's half-brother, in the eastern marches during the summer of 1202,

[53] *RN* 4 Joh p. 85. *MRSN* ii pp. 531, 536, 537; *LP* 4 Joh pp. 29, 30. Earl Ranulf witnessed many charters of the king during his remaining time in Normandy, from 12 August until late November (*RC* 5 Joh pp. 110, 113, 114; *LP* 5 Joh, p. 33).
[54] *LP* 3 Joh pp. 2, 3 *LP* 4 Joh p. 26
[55] *LP* 5 Joh p. 34.
[56] *LP* 4 Joh p. 26; *RN* 5 Joh p. 117.
[57] *FR* 2 Joh p. 169; *PR* 3 Joh pp. 22, 23. *MRSN* ii pp. 511, 570. For William's activities in Normandy see Chapter 6, pp. 167-8.
[58] *RN* 5 Joh p. 101; Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 420.
[59] See Chapter 6, pp. 160-1 for William's military responsibilities in the Pays de Caux in 1202-3.
[60] *LP* 3 Joh p. 10.

when King Philip's army was besieging the castle of Arques.[61] These barons continued to receive rewards and favours from the king during this critical period. In June 1202, Earl William de Warenne received various Norman lands of the count of Boulogne as compensation for the loss of his own Norman lands at Mortemer, and, in November 1203, was given the lands of Guérin de Glapion in the Pays de Caux.[62] As referenced above, Gilbert de Clare was active in the king's service, while Roger de Mortemer was also able to advance his interests through his service in Normandy, receiving substantial financial concessions from the king. In 1202, he was pardoned his outstanding debts at the English Exchequer of over £400, and received loans in Normandy of 200 l. In February 1203, part of his debt to the Jews in Normandy was written off.[63] He fought to the very end on behalf of King John in the Pays de Caux. Soon after the duchy was lost, he landed at Dieppe, probably to rally supporters in the region, but was captured by King Philip's *bailli* John de Rouvray.[64] Ralph de Tancarville, another leading baron of the Pays de Caux, continued to serve the king and received concessions during 1203, including letters of protection from being impleaded for any of his lands, except in the presence of the king's chief justice.[65]

The support of the barons of the Pays de Caux was critical during these final campaigns in Normandy. King Philip's forces occupied the castelries of the north-eastern frontier of Normandy and threatened the lands of the eastern Caux, where all these barons held lands and castles. Nevertheless, King Philip's forces made no headway and the barons of the region remained loyal to the end. This reflected the dominance of the cross-Channel barons most closely associated with John's regime, and the support of the lesser aristocracy, who continued to serve in the ducal administration. From 1202, William Martel, lord of Bacqueville, was constable of the important ducal castle of Arques, and probably only defected to King Philip after the surrender of the castle, in late June 1204.[66] The revolt of Hugh de Gournay and a number of barons from the neighbouring Pays de Bray, in the spring of 1203, failed to elicit any response in the Pays de Caux, where a number of the loyal barons such as

[61] *HGM* ii ll. 12321-12404.
[62] *RN* 4 Joh p. 47; 5 Joh p. 111.
[63] *PR* 4 Joh, p. 2; *LP* 4 Joh p. 14; *RN* 4 Joh p. 74.
[64] *CN* no. 167.
[65] *RN* 5 Joh p. 32.
[66] *LP* 4 Joh p.22; *CN* no. 124.

William Martel, Richard de Villequier and Richard de Trubleville were given property forfeited by Hugh.[67] Henry d'Estouteville remained loyal to King John until the end. On 20 May 1203, he was with the king at Moulins and, in June 1204, was among the defenders of Rouen, serving alongside other barons and knights from the Pays de Caux, including Robert d'Esneval and Richard de Villequier.[68] The continued support for King John by most of the barons of the Pays de Caux shows that the principal pillars of the Plantagenet regime, namely an active cross-Channel baronage and a local aristocracy closely associated with ducal government, remained intact in at least one region of Normandy.

The collapse of baronial support (1204-1205)

By the end of 1203, when King John crossed from Normandy to England for the final time, most of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin remained firmly in John's camp despite the doubts that surfaced in western Normandy earlier in the year. They had continued to provide full military and political support to the king in Normandy, as they had done in previous years. Yet, over the course of the spring and summer of 1204, this support for the king collapsed on both sides of the Channel. While the actions and attitudes of the baronage in general still eludes satisfactory explanation in this period, such a dramatic shift in sentiment among a group, that had previously provided consistent support for the king-dukes, is particularly perplexing, and raises questions about the significance of their cross-Channel interests.[69] In seeking to explain the collapse of baronial support in the duchy, contemporary sources pointed to the depredations of King John's mercenaries as one of the chief causes of the disaffection of barons in central Normandy in 1203.[70] The only documentary evidence suggests these complaints resulted from the activities of Louvrecaire and his troops at

[67] *RN* 4 Joh pp. 94-5.
[68] *RN* 4 Joh p. 92; *RC* 5 Joh p. 104; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. A. Teulet, 5 vols. (Paris, 1863-1909), i p. 250.
[69] See Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', pp. 117, 120 for the difficulties and dangers in seeking to interpret baronial behaviour in this period.
[70] This is referenced in the biography of William Marshal and in Gaudin's letter to Henry III, both written in the late 1220s, and concerns events around Alençon in 1203 (*HGM* ii ll. 12585-620; *Diplomatic Documents*, no. 206). The former relates the baronial concerns to events in January, and the desertion of the count of Sées, while the latter places them in the context of King John's failure to re-capture Alençon in August. The later date appears more likely given the royal letter of November cited below (note 71).

Falaise. A letter of the king, issued on 7 November 1203, warned Louvrecaire against seizing the lands and property of John's barons, particularly those of John de Préaux, a loyal baron of the region.[71] As Power argues, it is doubtful that the Norman barons reacted uniformly to events, and the reasons for their collapsing support probably varied from region to region.[72] For the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, the evidence suggests the more likely reason is the one favoured by the biographer of William Marshal and Roger of Wendover, that it was the personal failings of King John that undermined their support.[73]

For the barons who remained in Normandy, after the departure of John in December 1203, the most important factor in their desertion of the king was his failure to return to defend the duchy in the following spring. In late 1203, many of the most powerful cross-Channel barons in both regions followed the king to England, including William Marshal, Earl William de Warenne, Ranulf earl of Chester, William earl of Arundel, William de Mowbray, and probably Roger de Mortemer.[74] This deprived the remaining barons of the strong military and political support available when all the barons had previously gathered in Normandy under King Richard and, prior to 1204, under King John. They were 'like sheep having no shepherd', a description used by the contemporary chronicler William of Newburgh when they faced a similar situation in 1193.[75] In early May 1204, the barons of the Cotentin were squeezed between the advance of King Philip into central Normandy from the south, and the Bretons advancing from the west. They had no means of providing effective resistance without support from the king and barons in England. In late April or May, King Philip issued an order that those barons holding lands in Normandy, who came before him to do homage by Easter 1205, would continue to hold their lands.[76] By this time, it must have been apparent to the barons of the Cotentin that King John was

[71] *LP* 5 Joh p. 35.
[72] Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', p. 120.
[73] HGM ii ll. 12595-12606; *Wendover* i. pp. 316-7.
[74] Most witnessed charters of the king in England in January and February 1204 (*RC* 5 Joh pp. 115, 117-119).
[75] Newburgh iv 36, p. 390.
[76] Although no text for the order survives, it is described in *HGM* ll. 12852-12902. A number of acts issued by Philip, in the following year (*RAP* nos. 901, 902), imply that such an order was issued, probably with a term of one year for barons to comply. See C. Petit-Dutaillis, 'Études sur le 'Registrum Veteris' Actes de Philippe-Auguste', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xcix (1938), pp. 59-63.

unlikely to return to Normandy any time soon. The king's representatives, including William Marshal and Robert earl of Leicester, were in the duchy at the time and must have passed on news about the king's intentions, and their failure to agree a truce or peace with King Philip.[77] Hence, during the course of May, as King Philip advanced through central Normandy, and his allies invaded the western regions, the barons of the Cotentin had little alternative but to do homage to Philip to secure their Norman lands. William du Hommet the constable, and one of leaders of the barons remaining in Normandy, probably deserted to King Philip in late May 1204. The first order of King John for the confiscation of his English lands was issued on 4 June.[78] The annals of Waverley suggest that William's treachery was instrumental in the fall of Normandy although there is no corroboration for this. William received no rewards from Philip, and the French king probably remained uncertain of the family's loyalty in the years immediately following the conquest of Normandy.[79] Ralph Taisson probably defected around the same time, as his English lands had been seized by 13 June.[80] Fulk Paynel may have deserted later, as the first recorded seizure of one of his English estates was dated 22 August 1204. His other lands in Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire appeared in the *Rotulus de valore de terrarum Normannorum*, compiled by King John's chancery between August and October.[81] Various lesser barons of the region who had served the Plantagenets, such as Hugh de Coulonces and Richard de Fontenay, chose to remain in Normandy while others, including Robert de la Haye and Hasculf de Subligny, later left the duchy and established themselves in England. Robert probably left Normandy before, or soon after the French conquest as, in 1205, he secured permission from King John to hold a market on his Lincolnshire

[77] William Marshal and the earl of Leicester arrived in the duchy after 11 April 1204 (*RC* 5 Joh p. 127), and did not return to England until late May (Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 260).
[78] *LC* 6 Joh p. 1. See also T. K. Moore, 'The Loss of Normandy and the Invention of "Terre Normannorum," 1204', *EHR*, 125 (2010), pp. 1071-1109, whose analysis of the *Rotulus de valore terrarum Normannorum,* compiled by King John's administration in England in 1204, provides useful information on the chronology of the seizure of the lands of barons remaining in Normandy.
[79] *Annales Monastici* ii pp. 255-6. See p. 222 below for King Philip's mistrust of William du Hommet. See also Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 385 who believes the annalist confused William with either William le Gras seneschal of Normandy, or William des Roches, seneschal of Anjou.
[80] *LP* 6 Joh p. 43. Moore, 'Terre Normannorum', p. 1084.
[81] *LC* 6 Joh pp. 4, 6, 27; *RN* 6 Joh pp. 134, 141; Moore, 'Terre Normannorum', p. 1075. See also *EYC* vi pp. 25, 26.

lands at Burwell. [82] Hasculf crossed over to England before 27 March 1206, when he was restored to his lands in Somerset. He and Thomas Paynel, the brother of Fulk Paynel lord of Hambye, were subsequently established in the Channel Isles by King John, as part of a small group of Cotentin exiles.[83]

The barons of the Pays de Caux who remained in Normandy probably did not defect until after the capitulation of Rouen on 24 June. Henry d'Estouteville probably did homage to King Philip for his Norman lands soon after this date, when he and other members of the Rouen garrison surrendered.[84] Ralph de Tancarville's English lands were in the king's hands by 2 August, when orders were issued disposing of his manor of Upavon in Wiltshire.[85] Ralph died before 30 November 1204, when his brother and heir, William de Tancarville, was in possession of the Norman estates. Hence, it is possible that Ralph did not survive to do homage to King Philip.[86] William Malet, lord of Graville, who had been a ducal official in the region under King Richard, may have defected to King Philip during this period. He was recorded in possession of his Norman lands in a survey of 1207. William Martel, who was castellan of Arques in 1203, deserted to King Philip in 1204.[87] The English lands of both men were recorded in later surveys as royal escheats. It is therefore likely that the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin only abandoned King John when it was clear that he was not returning to Normandy, and there was no other hope of saving their lands.

It is surely also significant that the barons of these regions left little evidence of enthusiastic support for King Philip, in the years immediately following his conquest of Normandy. Likewise, the king remained wary of his new vassals, particularly those who had been loyal servants of the Plantagenets. William II du Hommet, grandson and namesake of the old constable of Normandy, who died in 1204, was required to give pledges to King Philip for 1000 marks to ensure his loyalty. His pledges included

[82] *FR* 6 Joh p. 286.
[83] *LC* 7 Joh p. 68, 8 Joh pp. 70, 81; *LP* 10 Joh p. 90.
[84] See p. 213 above.
[85] *LC* 6 Joh pp. 4, 9.
[86] A. Besnard, *Monographie de l'Eglise et de l'abbaye Saint-Georges de Boscherville,* A. Besnard (Paris, 1899)*,* p. lxxii.
[87] *RPA* p. 288; *CN* no. 124; *LF* i p. 93, 616.

other prominent Cotentin barons, such as Fulk Paynel and Richard de Vernon.[88] None of the leading families, such as the Le Hommets, Taissons, and Paynels, who had served in the ducal administration of the Plantagenets for generations, ever held a similar position under Philip.[89] King Philip probably took steps to secure the loyalty of William de Tancarville, brother and heir or Ralph. In 1205, William's daughter Isabella was married to Adam fitz Walter, the French king's chamberlain, who was also given 200 l. of land and two knights' fees near William's important castle of Villers-Chambellan.[90] By establishing one of his trusted agents on William's fief, and close to his main castle, the French king was probably seeking to ensure the loyalty of the most powerful baron remaining in the Pays de Caux.

King Philip was right to be concerned about the loyalty of the Norman barons. Many had lost a great deal in England, and might be induced to support the return of a king of England who promised to restore their lands across the Channel. The value of the English estates of William du Hommet, referenced in the *Rotulus de valore terrarum Normannorum* and later surveys in the thirteenth century, amounted to nearly £105 a year, and these only represented around half the known English estates of William.[91] In addition, William lost custody of the English lands of his ward Baldwin Wac, comprising eight knights' fees in Lincolnshire. On a more personal level, he also lost his connections with the religious community at Southwick, where his wife Lucy was buried, and at Stamford.[92] Ralph de Tancarville lost many manors in England, producing revenues of more than £200 a year, a significant loss of income for any baron.[93] Ralph Taisson lost his family manors in Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and his wife's inheritance of Patrixbourne in Kent, comprising

[88] *CN* no. 204. See also Power, 'Guérin de Glapion', p. 178 for a summary of the general evidence of potential waverings by the Norman barons during the immediate post-Conquest period.
[89] See J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, pp. 431-3 for the officials of King Philip in Normandy. See also Power, 'L'établissement du regime Capetièn', p. 327.
[90] Martène, *Amplissimus Collection*, i col.1051. See also K. H. Thompson, 'Les Femmes dans la Société Normande après 1204', in A.-M. Flambard Héricher and V. Gazeau (eds.), *1204, la Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens*, (Caen, 2007), p. 348-9, who believes this marriage indicated the close alignment of the Tancarvilles with King Philip.
[91] *LF* i pp. 614, 618; *RN* 6 Joh pp. 131, 134; *LC* 6 Joh p. 1.
[92] See Chapter 4, pp. 97-8 for the connections of William du Hommet and his wife Lucy with the communities of Southwick and Stamford.
[93] M. Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* pp. 293-4. See Chapter 1, pp. 30-1 for the value of the Tancarville's English estates.

seven and a half knights' fees. The total value of his English estates, for which there is a record, amounted to £134. He also had custody of the substantial honour of Henry de Tilly in Devon, comprising thirteen and a half knights' fees.[94] Fulk Paynel probably lost about half his lands, when his estates in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and elsewhere were seized by King John in 1204.[95]

Given the extent of these losses, it is not surprising that many Norman families continued to seek ways to retain possession or, at least, a connection with their former English lands. As Power has demonstrated in his study of the charters of former cross-Channel families after 1204, none regarded the separation of 1204 as definitive or permanent, and for forty years afterwards they searched for ways to hold lands on both sides of the Channel.[96] The efforts of families in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin to retain links with their English interests have been described in more detail in earlier chapters. Henry d'Estouteville's relatives retained possession of the family lands in England, firstly through his mother Leonia and, after her death, through his brother-in-law William earl Warenne. Fulk Paynel's brothers Hasculf and Thomas remained in King John's service, and probably facilitated Fulk's brief reconciliation with the king in 1214. William du Hommet retained connection with his former tenants in Northamptonshire, while Richard de Vernon's sister, Margaret, managed to recover the family's English estate after 1204. For the barons remaining in Normandy, there is no doubt that the loss of Plantagenet control was not sought or desired, and the loss of their English property and connections was deeply felt. However, they did not carry great weight in the duchy. In both regions, the more powerful cross-Channel barons had left for England, and, after the takeover by King Philip, they could do little to influence French royal policy in a more favourable direction.

In England, however, the situation was very different so that we have to retrace our steps a little. The barons of the Cotentin and Pays de Caux, who returned with King John to England in late 1203, had greater political influence and, in various cases, they were prepared to challenge the king over the loss of their Norman lands. Initially,

[94] *LC* 6 Joh pp. 6, 9; *LF* i pp. 270, 618.
[95] See Chapter 2, pp. 56-7.
[96] D. J. Power, ' "Terra Regis Anglie et terra Normannorum sibi invicem adversantur": les heritages anglo-normands entre 1204 et 1244', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age*, eds. P. Bouet and V. Gazeau (Caen, 2001), pp. 190, 209.

after their return to England, the political alignment between the barons and king remained intact, and all appeared intent on returning to Normandy to defend their interests. On 2 January 1204, the barons met with King John in council at Oxford and agreed to provide an aid of two and a half marks per knights' fee. According to the annals of Bury St Edmunds, they also promised to return to Normandy with him.[97] The royal administrative records confirm that a military expedition was being prepared in the spring and, between 9 and 13 April, many of the leading barons joined the king in the Portsmouth/Winchester area, suggesting this was the planned date for the army to assemble before crossing to Normandy.[98] Those present included William Marshal, Robert earl of Leicester, William earl of Salisbury, Henry de Bohun earl of Hereford, Earl Richard de Clare, and Ranulf earl of Chester.[99] Many barons received writs of quittance from the scutage collected that year, suggesting they brought their retinues of knights with them ready for a campaign.[100]

However, by this time, sentiments had changed about returning to Normandy, and it was decided instead to send an embassy to seek peace terms with King Philip.[101] Perhaps, after the dismal performance of King John in 1203, the news of the surrender of Chateau-Gaillard, in March 1204, further underlined his military weakness and made it unlikely that an expedition to Normandy would succeed.[102] In these circumstances, a peace agreement, or at least a truce, offered the best hope for the barons of retaining their Norman lands. The embassy, comprising Hubert Walter, the bishops of Norwich and Ely, William Marshal and Robert earl Leicester, probably met with King Philip in late April.[103] The king refused to consider any terms, but he

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[97] Wendover ii p. 209; *Memorials of St Edmunds Abbey,* ed. T. Arnold (London, 1892), ii p. 12.
[98] *RL* 5 Joh p. 77; Church, *King John*, pp. 117-18. See Chapter 6, pp. 165-6 for the arrangements for the muster of the barons and their knights in April 1204.
[99] *RC* 5 Joh pp. 125-8.
[100] Writs of quittance were recorded on the Pipe Roll of that year for Ranulf earl of Chester, Earl Richard de Clare, Roger de Mortemer, William de Mowbray, William Marshal, William earl Warenne and many other barons (*PR* 6 Joh pp. 16, 35, 118, 152, 172). Letters of protection issued for Baldwin count of Aumale, while he was in the king's service, suggest he came with an armed retinue ready to cross to Normandy (*LP* 4 Joh p. 41).
[101] Gervase ii pp. 95-6, Coggeshall pp. 144-5. William Marshal and Robert earl of Leicester, two members of the embassy, were still with the king and other barons at Portsmouth on 11 April (*RC* 5 Joh p. 127).
[102] Wendover ii pp. 213-4; Rigord pp. 141, 159.
[103] The embassy left England after 11 April (see note 101 above). According to the account in the biography of William Marshal, they went first to Rouen and then travelled on to meet

declared his intention of allowing the barons to retain their Norman lands if they did homage to him within a set term of probably one year.[104] For William Marshal and the earl of Leicester, both holders of large Norman baronies, this provided an opportunity to safeguard their personal interests. After the meeting, William and Earl Robert discussed their situation, and they decided to go back to Philip and seek terms, allowing them to retain possession of their Norman lands. If they needed any further encouragement, King Philip's rapid progress through central Normandy would have concentrated their minds. They met Philip again at Lisieux, probably in late May, where they each offered 500 marks to have respite for their lands for one year and one day. If King John did not recover Normandy in that time, they would come to Philip and do homage to him.[105]

The actions of these two men probably reflected the sentiments of many other barons in the spring and summer of 1204. William and Earl Robert were King John's most distinguished military leaders, and both had been generously rewarded, but neither had confidence in the king's ability to retain Normandy. Instead, they prioritised the continued possession of their own Norman lands over support for King John's cause on the continent. They had not yet done homage to Philip, which would have put their English lands at risk of seizure by King John while the two kings were at war. However, the respite obtained from King Philip clearly undermined any enthusiasm they might have for continuing the fight in Normandy. It is likely that similar thoughts were already in the minds of many of the other barons, who were with King John on the south coast of England throughout May. The biographer of William Marshal, writing in the 1220s, suggests that the expedition to Normandy was cancelled due to the late arrival of the barons at the muster.[106] However, most of the barons had been present with the king near Portsmouth from early April, and remained until the end of May.[107] It is more likely that the news of the rapidly deterioriating military situation, with most of Lower Normandy lost and Rouen under

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King Philip at 'Bec', which could be Le Bec-Thomas, south of Rouen, or Le Bec-Hellouin in the Risle valley (*HGM* ii ll. 12852-12902).

[104] See note 77 above.

[105] The account in *HGM* is consistent with William's agreement, recorded in the registers of King Philip (*CN* no. 74).

[106] *HGM* ii ll. 12921-32.

[107] See particularly *RC* 5 Joh pp. 127-134, which shows that most of the prominent barons remained with the king in Hampshire until late May.

siege, would have undermined any remaining enthusiasm for taking the army to Normandy. The reports of King Philip's declaration, requiring them to do homage for their Norman lands within the fixed term of a year, would only have reinforced their position. Here was a way through their problem. If terms could be agreed with the King of France, they might be able to do homage to him without inviting retribution from King John.

The events of the summer of 1204 remain obscure, and it is difficult to reconstruct the substance of any debate between King John and his barons over the fate of their Norman lands. However, it was clearly an issue of real significance in the following months. In early June, the evidence suggests the king became alarmed at the prospect of more barons responding to King Philip's offer, and following the example of William Marshal and the earl of Leicester. On 4 June, soon after their return, the king began to issue orders confiscating the English lands of those barons who had performed homage to the French king.[108] This may have deterred other barons from crossing to Normandy to agree terms with King Philip. However, it did not solve the problem of their Norman lands, and the significant losses many would incur if they did not do homage to King Philip by the end of the fixed term, which probably expired in April 1205.[109] It is possible that Philip adopted this policy with the aim of undermining baronial support for a return to Normandy by King John. If so, it appears to have worked, and certainly affected relations between John and his barons over the course of the next year.

In the late summer and autumn of 1204, King John began to make concessions to his barons to alleviate the impact of losing their Norman estates. Various barons were granted possession of the lands seized from their tenants who had remained in Normandy. On 14 October, Ranulf earl of Chester was given the lands of rebels in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, who held their fees of the earl.[110] He later received the lands of other tenants in Nottinghamshire, and the Lincolnshire estates of

[108] See p. 215 above for the first orders to confiscate the lands of barons remaining in Normandy. William Marshal returned to England before 4 June 1204, as he was with King John at Farnham on that date (*RC* 6 Joh p. 134).
[109] See Petit-Dutaillis, pp. 59-63.
[110] *LC* 6 Joh p. 11.

his wife's great-uncle, William de Fougères.[111] In November, Earl Richard de Clare was given the manors of Walsingham in Norfolk, and Headley in Surrey, which had been held of his fief by men who remained in Normandy. Similarly, William de Mowbray was given the lands of Normans at Swavesey, Siddington and Fulbourne in Cambridgeshire.[112] However, these grants were poor compensation for the valuable Norman baronies lost by these men. Only William earl of Arundel received grants that compared with his lost Norman estates. In October, he was given the lands of Gilbert de L'Aigle in Sussex, and later, the valuable manor of Fakenham in Norfolk, seized from Alan de Morville.[113]

There was evidence of growing discontent among the barons. Two of the most powerful figures in the kingdom challenged the king directly. In the summer of 1204, William Marshal confronted the king, demanding the manor of Sturminster in Dorset, former lands of the count of Meulan, despite the claim of the count's daughter, the countess of Devon.[114] He was successful and, in late August, was granted the lands. In late 1204, Ranulf earl of Chester attacked his Welsh neighbours in defiance of the king and, on 14 December 1204, was disseised of his lands.[115] In January, he made peace with the king, but probably made his feelings clear on the issue of his lost Norman lands. Soon afterwards, he was given further compensation in Nottinghamshire and Buckinghamshire. This was followed, in early March, by the substantial grant of part of the honour of Richmond, the former English lands of the duke of Brittany.[116] It is perhaps no coincidence that the number of knights' fees he was granted in the honour, around 55 fees, was similar to the number of fees held of the duke in his Norman lands.[117]

The discontent of other barons, over their lost Norman lands, came to a head in a confrontation with the king described by the Anonymous of Béthune. The date of this exchange is unclear but, in the account, it takes place between the fall of Rouen, on 24

[111] *LF* i pp. 187, 230.
[112] *LC* 6 Joh pp. 13, 14, 32.
[113] *LC* 6 Joh p. 10; *LF* i p. 129. The survey of 1226-8 states that the manor of Fakenham was given to the earl as compensation for his Norman lands.
[114] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 95-6; *Reviers*, p. 25, Appendix II no. 38.
[115] *LC* 6 Joh pp. 16, 48.
[116] *LC* 6 Joh p. 18; *LP* 6 Joh p. 51.
[117] *EYC* v pp. 2-4.

June 1204, and the grant of Stamford to Earl William de Warenne, in compensation for his Norman lands, which was recorded in royal letters issued on 19 April 1205.[118] The linkage of the episode, by the Anonymous, with the grant to Earl William suggests it was close to the later date. Other circumstantial evidence also supports this interpretation. The fixed term set by King Philip, for the barons to do homage for their Norman lands, was due to expire in April 1205 (possibly on 17 April), which may have prompted the barons to raise the issue.[119] If so, it probably took place in the context of the great gathering of barons at Winchester on 3 April, when the defence of England against invasion was the major topic of discussion.[120] The barons were probably led by Earl William de Warenne, given the specific reference to him in the account. He was also one of the leading landholders in Normandy who had received little or no compensation from King John for his lost Norman estates. The barons asked the king that they be allowed to go to King Philip to do homage for their Norman lands. In doing so, they argued that their bodies might be with Philip, but their hearts would remain with King John. This was clearly unacceptable to King John for as long as he hoped to recover his continental lands by force. If his barons did homage to King Philip, they would not be able to follow him on the proposed expedition to Poitou in the summer.[121] Clearly, for many barons, the recovery of their Norman lands was more important. As Power commented more generally on the position of many former cross-Channel barons after 1204, the restitution of their lands across the sea remained more important than the re-establishment of the Plantagenet ducal regime at Rouen.[122]

The king still needed the support of his barons for his planned expedition, and tried to appease Earl William de Warenne with compensation. On 19 April, he gave the earl

[118] *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, p. 99; *LC* 6 Joh p. 28.
[119] Petit-Dutaillis, pp. 59-63.
[120] On 3 April 1205, the king issued orders, concerning the muster of the knights of England, which were agreed with the earls and barons at Winchester (*LP* 6 Joh p. 55). See Church, *King John*, p. 133 who regards this as an important meeting of the council.
[121] The king's response was conveyed by Baldwin count of Aumale: "Well I do not know what you intend to do; but were I in your place, and were their bodies against me and their hearts for me, if the hearts whose bodies were against me came into my hands, I would throw them into the privy" (*Histoire des ducs de Normandie*, pp. 99-100; translation in Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 296).
[122] Power, 'Les heritages anglo-normands entre 1204 et 1244', p. 197

lands at Stamford and Grantham until he recovered his land in Normandy.[123] However, King John's position was further undermined by the activities of William Marshal who, while on another diplomatic mission in April, carried out what the other barons had demanded, and performed homage to King Philip for his Norman lands. [124] If the dating of the barons' approach to the king in early April 1205 is correct, it is possible they had colluded with William before he crossed to France, in late February or March.[125] William's biographer attempts to justify William's actions by arguing, implausibly, that King John gave his permission to William to do homage to King Philip. The reasoning he ascribes to the king, that he was willing for William to do homage to King Philip as he knows his heart is with the king's allegiance, is remarkably similar to that used by the barons in their confrontation with the king.[126]

The attempt by the leading cross-Channel barons to perform homage for their Norman lands was probably linked to their support for the initiative, led by William Marshal during his embassy to King Philip, to bring an end to the conflict. This would have been a logical step, as it would have removed the main objection of King John to them doing homage to King Philip for their Norman lands. According to the account of his biographer, William's discussions with King Philip, at Compiègne in April 1205, were undermined by the intervention of Archbishop Hubert Walter who, annoyed that he had not been consulted, sent word that William and his colleagues had no authority to make peace.[127] It is difficult to reconstruct what actually happened during these negotiations without any other evidence, but it appears that the chancellor, and perhaps the king, became concerned that William was intent on going much further, in the attempt to make peace, than the king was prepared to accept.

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[123] *LC* 6 Joh p. 28.
[124] *HGM* ii ll.12966-13038. William met King Philip at Compiègne, between 10 and 30 April 1205 (see Crouch's notes on the chronology in *HGM* iii p. 106).
[125] Crouch dates Willilam's meeting with King Philip in mid-April (see note 124 above). However, the embassy may have departed earlier, as an order was issued to find a ship for William and other members of the delegation on 9 February (*LC* 6 Joh p. 19).
[126] *Je vos conois a si leial*
Qu'os ne porrïez a nul fuer
De mei esloingner vostre cuer (*HGM* ll. 12958-12960). In the Anonymous of Béthune's account, the barons assure the king *si seroient li cuer adiès deviers lui*. (*Histoire des ducs de Normandie,* p. 100).
[127] *HGM* ii ll. 12966-13038.

These developments, in the spring of 1205, almost certainly wrecked King John's plans to resume the war on the continent and lead an expedition to Poitou. According to Coggeshall, the king's expedition was cancelled because William Marshal, Archbishop Hubert Walter, and the leading barons opposed it on account of the strong position of King Philip in Normandy, and the threat of invasion. This was clearly an important factor, but it is likely their lack of enthusiasm for continuing the war also stemmed from the consequences of King John's intransigence, and failure to accept arrangements that would enable them to recover their Norman lands. In late April, after the barons in England failed to appear to do homage, King Philip had declared that their Norman lands had been incorporated in the royal demesne.[128] In early June 1205, the lingering bitterness over the loss of these lands probably led many to side with William Marshal in his confrontation with King John over the question of his homage to King Philip. The argument between William and the king erupted as the barons gathered at Portsmouth for the expedition to Poitou. It went to the heart of the issue arising from the king's loss of Normandy, and the barons' desire to come to terms with the king of France so they could continue to hold their Norman lands. William refused to follow the king to Poitou because he had performed homage to King Philip for his Norman lands, and could not wage war against his new lord.[129] The king asked the barons to pass judgement against William but they refused to condemn him. They clearly sympathised with his position, and supported William's opposition to the expedition. After the cancellation of the expedition, Earl William de Warenne, who had led baronial demands to do homage for their Norman lands, incurred the king's anger. He was singled out by the king for a heavy fine of 120 marks *pro passagio*, usually imposed when a baron refused to serve overseas.[130] From the spring of 1204, the conquest of Normandy by King Philip, and the desire of many to do homage to him for their Norman lands, sapped the willingness of the barons in England to continue the war. For the rest of his reign, King John faced an uphill struggle to persuade his barons to support his campaigns in France. Gone were the days of willing, if not enthusiastic support shown by them in the earlier Norman campaigns.

[128] *RAP* no. 901.
[129] *HGM* ii ll. 13052-13276.
[130] *PR* 7 Joh pp. 74, 124, 155, 239.

The evidence shows that, in 1204-5, the attitudes of many cross-Channel barons towards campaigns in France changed. Prior to 1204, they were generally resolute in providing service to defend the duchy as this provided the best means of protecting their own Norman interests, as long as the Plantagenet king-dukes looked capable of retaining control. However, this changed dramatically in 1204. The barons lost confidence in King John's ability to recover the duchy, and lost heart in continuing the fight. This did not diminish the desire of many of these families to retain their Norman interests, but now many, including the king's most loyal supporters, sought an end to the war so they could do homage to King Philip for their Norman lands.

Conclusion

Throughout this period, the political behaviour of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin continued to reflect a strong desire to retain possession of their cross-Channel interests. Until 1204, this was manifested in their support for the Plantagenet king-dukes to preserve their rule in Normandy. The fundamental strength of this commitment is demonstrated by their backing for King John's succession in both Normandy and England, their continued political and military support throughout his time in the duchy, and their reluctance to abandon John until the very last moment in the late spring and summer of 1204. During this final year of John's rule as duke, however, the political commitment of the barons to support John in the duchy disintegrated, and many began to seek other ways to secure their personal interests on both sides of the Channel. Historians are correct in concluding that King John lost the support of many of his barons but, in the Cotentin and Pays de Caux, this was not the result of any decline in their cross-Channel interests.[131]

The dramatic shift in their approach was almost certainly caused by a lack of confidence in the king's willingness and ability to protect their interests. From the very start, their faith in the king was lacking. Many barons were unsure whether they could trust him to fulfill his promises and deal with them equitably, concerns that may have dated back to his treachery against his brother in 1193-4. As a result, in 1201, many barons were prepared to oppose the king in order to secure their interests and

[131] See Holt, 'Anglo-Norman Realm', p. 43 who argues that the barons did not expect to lose their Norman fiefs as a result of King John's loss of Normandy.

threatened to withhold their military service. This decline in trust was also reflected in the lack of confidence by the king in a number of his barons in the southern Cotentin and Avranchin, and their associations with rebellious barons beyond the frontiers. However, while John remained in control in Normandy, the barons in both regions continued to provide him with military and political support against the king of France. Their support fell away only when it became clear the king was incapable of holding on to the duchy, and a policy of securing peace with King Philip, and performing homage for their Norman lands, became the only viable means of preserving these interests.

The critical events that prompted this collapse of support occurred in the spring of 1204. For the barons remaining in Normandy, the failure of King John to return to the duchy left them with little practical means of resisting the advance of King Philip and they were forced to do homage to him to preserve their Norman lands. There is no sense this was a voluntary move, none received any rewards or was placed in a position of trust by Philip. Many continued to maintain connections with their former lands in England in the hope that a change in the political situation might enable their recovery. In early 1204, the barons in England were initially prepared to back a return to the duchy but when it became clear that the military situation had deteriorated to a point where any return became untenable, they began to press for an end to the conflict so they could recognise King Philip's position in Normandy and do homage for their lands there. The tensions arising from this fracturing of the old political alignment between King John and his barons rumbled on until the summer of 1205, with the king trying to keep a lid on things by giving compensation to powerful barons for their lost Norman lands, and the baronial leaders looking to end the war and so recover their lands. The cancellation of the expedition to Poitou, in June 1205, effectively signaled the end of the close alignment on continental policy that had existed between the king and many of the former barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin since the reign of King Richard. Perhaps, taking such a step under King Richard would have been unthinkable, but their dissatisfaction with King John made this step more palatable.

What remained constant throughout these shifts in baronial politics was the strong desire of many barons of the Cotentin and Pays de Caux to preserve their cross-

Channel interests. But the evidence from this period, and from the earlier twelfth century, demonstrates that the possession of cross-Channel interests could cause barons to behave in two radically different ways. When the king-duke looked to be in control of both Normandy and England it acted as a powerful anchor for his rule and provided a strong base of support. When the control of the king over part of his cross-Channel dominion was uncertain or lost, then this could rapidly undermine his support among the barons who were now driven by their own personal interests to seek an accommodation with the king's enemies, who might be able to provide secure possession. King John's experience of the fickle nature of cross-Channel politics was not unique, and there are close parallels with events under King Stephen in the early 1140s. When barons lost confidence in the king's ability to hold onto Normandy, they adopted similar strategies to preserve their interests. They used family connections to retain a hold over lands across the Channel, sought compensation for lost lands, or disengaged from the conflict until political circumstances changed. The major difference in the earlier period is that the barons were ultimately successful in pushing the protagonists, Stephen king of England and Henry duke of Normandy, to agree a peace settlement, in 1153, that enabled most to recover their cross-Channel interests.[132] After the loss of Normandy in 1204, the conflict between Plantagenets and Capetians was not resolved for many years. A comprehensive military victory for either Plantagenets or Capetians was denied, firstly at Bouvines in 1214, and then at Lincoln in 1217, and a peace settlement was not agreed until 1259. By then, with a new generation in charge on both sides, the prospect of the barons recovering their lost lands on the other side of the Channel had long since passed. It is perhaps the permanence of the separation of England and Normandy, after 1204, that has led historians to presume that the interest of the barons in maintaining their interests on both sides of the Channel had weakened significantly since the period of the Norman kings. In reality, the evidence shows that the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin in 1204, valued their cross-Channel interests as highly, and were as committed to preserving them, as their ancestors in the earlier twelfth century.

[132] Bates, *Normans and Empire*, p. 106.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented in this thesis demonstrates the continuing importance of the cross-Channel interests of the baronial families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin in the period 1189-1204. By the end of the twelfth century, cross-Channel landholding was more extensive than it had ever been, and both regions were dominated by families who continued to value their links with Normandy and England. The strength of these interests was also reflected in the consistent support most provided to their king-dukes in preserving the Anglo-Norman realm. These findings challenge the views of many modern scholars who concluded that these interests generally diminished in importance in the course of the twelfth century, and baronial commitment to maintaining the political connection between Normandy and England was weaker compared with the situation at the start of the century.[1] Unlike their counterparts in other regions, the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin retained a distinct cross-Channel identity right through to 1204 and beyond, and consequently we need to seek other reasons to explain their failing support for King John's cause.

In the course of the twelfth century, both regions witnessed a steady expansion in the incidence of barons holding lands in both Normandy and England, and in the overall extent of those lands. In the Pays de Caux, most of the established baronial families such as the Tancarvilles, Warennes, Estoutevilles, Mortemers and Martels continued to extend their cross-Channel landholding in the course of the twelfth century. One of the major cross-Channel baronies, held by the Giffard family until its extinction in 1164, was retained in royal custody for most of the reign of Henry II. However, it was subsequently divided between two branches of the Clare family, after the accession of King Richard in 1189, establishing two important cross-Channel lords, William Marshal and Earl Richard de Clare, in the region. In the Cotentin, the expansion of cross-Channel landholding in the twelfth century was even more pronounced as many of the baronial families of the region were established as landholders in England for the first time. The two branches of the Aubigny family (Arundel and Mowbray), and

[1] Historians who argued for a decline in cross-Channel landholding in the course of the twelfth century include Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, p. 271; Thompson, 'L'aristocratie Anglo-Normande et 1204', p. 181; and Billoré, *De gré ou de force,* pp. 151, 288. See also the Introduction, pp. 2-4.

the Reviers-Vernon family acquired their English lands during the reign of Henry I while others, such as the Le Hommets, Taissons and other lesser baronial families, acquired the bulk of their lands in the reign of Henry II. In both regions, the long war in Normandy, between 1193 and 1204, drew many barons there on a regular basis to support their king-dukes and probably encouraged the further expansion of their cross-Channel interests. The Marshal, Clare, Warenne, Mortemer, Le Hommet, Taisson, Chester, and Mowbray families acquired new lands and extended their cross-Channel holdings during the final decade of the Anglo-Norman realm.

This expansion of cross-Channel landholding in the later twelfth century reveals new insights into the nature of baronial interests in these two regions of Normandy, and their influence on politics. It highlights the importance of the close political alignment of many families with the ducal regime as an important factor in promoting the expansion of their cross-Channel interests. It also reflects the strong cross-Channel identity of many of these families, that persisted beyond 1204 and was manifested in the provisions and arrangements concerning their family estates, and in the nature of their connections with particular communities and localities.

The close association of many baronial families with their ducal rulers had been a characteristic of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, from at least the mid eleventh century onwards. It reflected the strong ducal presence in the regions, in the form of demesne lands and castles, and an increasingly pervasive administrative and judicial presence. Many families had been established through ducal patronage and continued to advance their interests through service in the ducal household and administration. The structure of baronial landholding also discouraged the creation of independent centres of baronial influence and power as most of their fiefs consisted of estates scattered over broad areas and often intermingled with those of other baronial families. This contrasted with the compact fiefs and castelries that were a feature of various frontier regions, enabling barons to exert their authority and power over localities that were often remote from any ducal influence.[2] In the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, barons had to take account of neighbouring barons, as well as the ducal officials controlling the castles, prevotés and bailiwicks in their area. Consequently,

[2] Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 442.

baronial families such as the Le Hommets, Vernons, Paynels, Bohons and Taissons in the Cotentin, and the Estoutevilles and Martels in the Pays de Caux, as well as their tenants and other knightly families, found it more conducive to work with the grain, and developed careers in ducal service in the mid and late twelfth centuries. While the richer families, such as the Tancarvilles, Warennes and Aubignys had by the late twelfth century, ceased to perform any active role as ducal officials, they still remained closely associated with the king-dukes for much of this period. Consequently, aristocratic society in both regions was infused with strong traditions of loyalty to the ducal regime. Most of the baronial families prospered from this loyalty during the course of the twelfth century and many, including the Tancarvilles, Aubignys, Paynels, Estoutevilles, Le Hommets, and Taissons, were established as cross-Channel landholders as a result of the service they provided to their rulers.

This long-standing association with the king-dukes probably encouraged the survival of a distinctive cross-Channel identity among most of the baronial families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin during the late twelfth century. As many barons owed their rise to ancestors, who participated in the creation of the Anglo-Norman realm, it is likely that many regarded themselves as the proud descendants of the Normans who had conquered and settled England. The interest of many families in their Norman heritage is reflected in the vernacular literature of the later twelfth century, such as the *Chroniques de Normandie* of Benoit, and Wace's *Roman de Rou*. The fact that Wace took the trouble to mention the ancestors of many baronial families in his account of the conquest of England, including all those from the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, suggests they retained a strong interest in the history and achievements of their ancestors during the formation of the Anglo-Norman realm.[3]

The continued possession of lands in both countries served as a visible reminder to many families of their heroic past and, consequently, many went to considerable lengths to ensure their descendants maintained their cross-Channel status by continuing to hold lands in both countries. This can be seen to operate most clearly

[3] Benoit, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. F. Michel (Paris, 1836); *Wace: The Roman de Rou*, iii ll. 8329-8705. See also Van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', pp. 109-114, who argues that Wace picked up at least some of the names from family representatives in the later twelfth century.

when baronies were divided among heirs and claimants in the later twelfth century. The division of the Paynel lands between the two sons of William Paynel, in 1153-4, and the Giffard barony between the two main representatives of the Clare family, in 1189, ensured that both claimants received equal shares of the English and Norman inheritance. The same approach can be discerned in other acts involving the distribution of family assets. Both Nicholas d'Estouteville, lord of Valmont, who began the process of rebuilding the family fortunes in England, and Richard du Hommet the constable of Normandy, took care to ensure that all their sons were endowed with lands in Normandy and England. Many barons were clearly keen to ensure that extended family members retained a foothold on both sides of the Channel.

The same considerations were evident in many of the marriage agreements made by families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. The transfer of lands in dowries or through division of inheritances among heiresses revealed the desire of many families to ensure family members continued to hold interests in both Normandy and England. In 1191, the division of the lands of Enguerran Patric between his two daughters, and their husbands Ralph Taisson and John de Préaux, led to each receiving a share of their English and Norman lands. The inheritance of Leonia de Rames, wife of Robert d'Estouteville, included lands in the Pays de Caux, and in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. In 1199, when Ranulf earl of Chester married Clemencia, daughter of William de Fougères, her share of the family lands included estates in the Mortain valley and in Lincolnshire. Also, the motivation for these marriages may have reflected the desire of various barons to extend their holdings on the other side of the Channel. Ralph Taisson, who held few lands in England, may have married Matilda, daughter and heiress of Enguerran Patric, in order to secure her English inheritance, consisting of half the barony of Patrixbourne in Kent, rather than her minor estates in Normandy. Similarly, Robert d'Estouteville probably married Leonia de Rames for her relatively valuable fief in England rather than her small Norman fief of Rames in the Pays de Caux.

The territorial strategies of baronial families had changed significantly since the start of the twelfth century, when the insecurities created by the separation of Normandy and England had encouraged many to divide their English and Norman lands between

different branches, and concentrate their landholding on one side of the Channel. By the late twelfth century, the long periods of political stability, particularly after 1154, encouraged most families to distribute their assets, and expand their holdings unhindered by any consideration of the risk of England and Normandy becoming separated. Many consciously elected to ensure family members retained the interest in both countries established by their ancestors.

While these dynastic transactions demonstrate a continued interest by many families in retaining a cross-Channel presence, most still held more lands in one country than the other and, inevitably, the evidence of their interactions with tenants, dependants and religious institutions tended to be concentrated in the country where most of their lands were located. For this reason, various historians have argued that they lost interest in the lands on the other side of the Channel and became essentially 'English' or 'Norman'.[4] However, there is evidence to show that most barons whose main activities were focused in England did not abandon their roots in Normandy. The example of Hamelin earl Warenne and his wife Countess Isabella is particularly revealing. While they were important landholders in the Pays de Caux, their English lands were significantly more extensive and their followers and dependants were drawn from these lands, and most of their patronage was directed at English churches. Nevertheless, Isabella came from a prominent cross-Channel family with a proud tradition. Both she and her husband remained conscious of this Norman heritage and chose to be buried in the priory of Notre-Dame-du-Pré near Rouen in 1202-3.[5]

Other extensive landholders in England maintained links with their Norman origins. The earls of Arundel continued to support the churches associated with their Cotentin barony of Aubigny, while the Mowbrays maintained a significant interest in the lands, tenants and churches connected with their Montbray fief. The Mohuns retained links with their tenants and churches in the southern Cotentin, until the death of William IV de Mohun in 1193. For many of the major landholders in England their minor Norman fiefs probably had particular significance, representing their provenance as a noble family. The importance of this Norman ancestry is reflected in the tenacity shown by families in maintaining a link with these lands even when possession was

[4] See Introduction, pp. 5-7 for these arguments.
[5] See Chapter 3 p. 85.

lost either temporarily or permanently. After the death of her husband in 1193, Lucy de Mohun went to great lengths to secure possession of her sons' Norman patrimony during their minority. Similarly, Rohais de Bohon fined with the king to secure custody of the Norman lands of her young son Enjuger, and then fought in the courts of England and Normandy to maintain the integrity of that inheritance. When Enjuger lost his Norman lands in 1204, he took service with King John in the Channel Isles, with the probable aim of recovering his Norman barony.

Important Norman landholders did not have the same ancient family ties with their minor English estates but a number of barons still developed a surprisingly strong attachment to them, and their extended family connections in England. The determination of the Estoutevilles to hold on to many of their English lands after 1204, when Henry d'Estouteville elected to remain in Normandy, reflected the strong attachment of his mother Leonia to her English inheritance. She was able to make an agreement with King John, allowing her to retain possession until her death in 1215-6. The continuing interest of the Vernons in retaining possession of their only English estate in the Isle of Wight after 1204, reflected a continuing close connection with their English cousin William earl of Devon, who assisted Margaret, sister of Richard II de Vernon, recover possession. Various Norman families developed a particularly strong attachment to their new acquisitions in England, where there had been no previous family connections. The attention given by William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, and his wife Lucy to the priory and local community of Southwick in Hampshire, where they held a few estates, is particularly well documented. Both were from families whose roots and lands were largely based in Normandy but their charters demonstrate a strong personal interest in the priory and local society.

Not all barons left evidence of an attachment to their English lands. Ralph de Tancarville and Ralph Taisson, whose main assets remained in Normandy, left little trace of any engagement with their local communities and tenants in England, and they were probably absentee lords. Nevertheless, they were able to extract significant revenues from their much smaller property holdings in England. We should not

discount the importance of the significant revenues produced from these lands, which they used to fund their patronage and political activities in Normandy.[6]

The attachment of barons to their interests on both sides of the Channel went beyond the material or personal, and became an integral part of their political ambitions to promote their power and influence within the Anglo-Norman realm. Between 1194 and 1204, William Marshal was particularly active in his Pays de Caux fief of Longueville, building an important following among local barons, knights and ducal officials, as well as patronising local churches. In the same period, Ranulf earl of Chester was active in western Normandy building an extensive following among baronial families of the southern Cotentin, Avranchin and Breton frontier that complemented his own growing political influence in the region. While probably less significant politically, Roger de Mortemer's activity in Normandy on behalf of King John was reflected in his close relationship with his ancestral Norman lands, and the tenants of his barony of Saint-Victor-en-Caux.

The cross-Channel ambitions of baronial families in the Pays de Caux and Cotentin were manifested in the political connections and alliances they maintained in this period, as many families holding mainly Norman lands forged links with families whose main interests were in England. Examples include the connections of Ranulf earl of Chester with William du Hommet and Fulk Paynel, William du Hommet with William de Mowbray, Ralph de Tancarville with William Marshal and a number of English barons, Roger de Mortemer with Walkelin de Ferrières, and the Warenne family with a number of Norman families including the Estoutevilles, L'Aigles and count of Eu. Le Patourel's concept of a single, homogeneous community of Anglo-Norman barons has long been considered flawed in terms of the baronage in general but, in the 1190s, it came close to being realised for one important section of this community. The barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin continued to identify with their cross-Channel lands, maintained a level of interest within both countries and appeared comfortable moving within the baronial communities on both sides of the

[6] See D. J. Power, 'Le régime seigneurial en Normandie (XII-XIII siècles)', in M. Aurell and F. Boutoulle (eds.), *Les seigneuries dans l'espace Plantagenêt (c. 1150-c. 1250)* (Pessac, 2009), pp. 130 who draws attention to the importance of English revenues for Norman barons. See also K. H. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of Perche, c. 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002).

Channel. They formed a cohesive group of cross-Channel barons whose interests were best served by a close alignment with the Plantagenet king-dukes.

This community of barons can be seen to have operated most effectively during the reign of King Richard I who was able to engage their support extensively in the defence of Normandy, and the maintenance of his rule in England. Richard attracted not only the supporters of Henry II, such as William du Hommet, Ralph Taisson, and William earl of Arundel, but also many of those families who had been involved in opposition to his father, including the Chester, Mowbray and Tancarville families. Through his generosity and politically mature dealings with many of these barons, and probably his increasing reputation and charisma as a leader, he was able to win over most to his side.

The barons remained steadfast in their support during his prolonged absence on crusade and imprisonment in Germany (1190-4), with many taking prominent roles to defeat the treachery of Count John in England, and resist the invasion of Normandy by King Philip of France. From 1194, they provided King Richard with extensive military service in Normandy throughout the remainder of his reign. Once again, the conventional assumptions of modern scholarship, that baronial military support was lacking or provided grudgingly, does not apply to the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin. They served in Normandy year after year with little evidence of coercion or sanctions being applied. This was facilitated by a system that had evolved, probably in consultation with the leading barons, to take account of the practicalities and needs of service in Normandy. The barons were asked to provide small contingents of knights for longer periods of service, and it is likely they were able to recover the costs or even profit from the scutage and aids collected from their tenants, and from the king's readiness to provide financial concessions and gifts. For many barons with military households, it is likely that service in Normandy became attractive not only financially but also for the potential fame and glory to be won in the service of the most famous soldier-king of the time. According to contemporary writers, King Richard and his followers were seen as the paragons of valour, loyalty and generosity,

the values embodied in the emerging chivalric culture.[7] Consequently, Richard's court, and his armies in Normandy, became the focus for an extensive baronial community between 1194 and 1198, with most barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin in attendance at least during the summer months and military campaigns.

This willingness to serve in Normandy was also the result of a shared interest in the defence of duchy arising from the strong attachment to their own interests there. This is certainly evident in the cases of William Marshal, William de Warenne, Roger de Mortemer and Henry d'Estouteville, who were active in the defence of the Pays de Caux and the eastern duchy where their own lands were located. Similarly, in western Normandy, William du Hommet, Ralph Taisson, Fulk Paynel and Ranulf earl of Chester undertook roles as commanders or ducal officials during this period. The solid loyalty and committed support provided to the king-dukes by these barons illustrates the very different characteristics of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin from the frontier regions of Normandy, where barons with ambiguous loyalties deserted to King Philip or surrendered fortresses. It is pertinent that the only baron from the Cotentin who demonstrated any disloyalty during this period was Richard de Vernon who, by virtue of his castelry of Vernon, was also a frontier baron who surrendered the castle to King Philip in 1193.

This fundamental support of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin for their king-dukes remained in place during the early reign of King John. They supported his accession as duke of Normandy and king of England and, until 1203, provided the same level of service in Normandy that they had given to his brother Richard. Most served each year when John assembled his army, and many played key roles as commanders, castellans, and ducal officials. However, the commitment and cohesion of the baronial community was increasingly tested by the policies and actions of King John. Their wariness of the king derived in part from the legacies of the past, and particularly their role in suppressing John's treachery against King Richard in 1193-4, but their mistrust of him was confirmed by his failure to deal equitably with their

[7] See for example Ambroise, ll. 12290-92:
Mais Deus qui servi il avoit
E son sen e sa grant largesce
Sa porveance sa pröesce.

claims after he became king. There is also evidence to suggest that, for the first time in this period, external influences became a factor for barons of the Cotentin and Avranchin, such as Ranulf earl of Chester and Fulk Paynel, whose connections with Breton rebels and adherents of Arthur duke of Brittany undermined the king's trust in them.

It was probably these developments that undermined the barons' previously unshakeable commitment to supporting the continental policies of the Plantagenet king-dukes. When these policies appeared likely to be successful in maintaining the integrity of the Anglo-Norman realm, they clearly aligned with the personal interests of the barons. By 1203-4, however, the lack of respect for King John, compounded by a declining faith in his ability to defend the duchy, fractured this political alignment beween the king and his barons. John's failure to resist King Philip's advance into Normandy in 1203, and his inexplicable absence in England throughout Philip's successful conquest of the duchy in 1204, forced many of his previously loyal barons to look for other ways to preserve their own lands and connections. It was not the weakened state of their cross-Channel interests that caused this divergence, but the continued importance of these interests for many barons that led them to seek other ways to retain their lands, when it was clear that the king had failed them.

Perhaps the most fatal consequence for King John's cause was that many barons now recognised that the only way to retain their Norman lands was to make peace with King Philip of France. While the influence of the French king had previously failed to make any significant impact on the loyalties of most of the barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, his successful invasion of Normandy led many barons on both sides of the Channel to consider recognising King Philip as the new ruler of Normandy. Those who remained in Normandy in 1204 were forced to take this step, and were subsequently disseised of their English lands by King John. Around the same time, two powerful and previously loyal cross-Channel barons, William Marshal and Robert earl of Leicester, came to terms with King Philip, allowing them to retain possession of their Norman lands provided they did homage to him by April 1205. The following year, William earl Warenne and a number of other barons in England tried to follow their lead but King John was able to resist their move on this occasion. These attempts by the barons in England to recover their Norman lands were

accompanied by a number of initiatives to secure peace with King Philip that almost certainly had the backing of leading individuals such as William Marshal, who participated in the negotiations and was prepared to offer King Philip more than John was willing to concede. For these men, peace at any price, even if it involved surrendering all or part of Normandy to King Philip, was now preferable, as they would then be free to do homage to King Philip and seek restoration of their Norman lands. Such an outcome was unacceptable to King John since it would deprive him of their support in future wars to recover his continental lands. In the absence of a shared political interest in Normandy, King John was forced to buy the service of his barons for his future continental wars, by providing compensation for lost lands, and the increasing use of financial deals and incentives.

While these political changes were underway, families who had lost lands, as a result of the events of 1204, pursued other ways to maintain links with their lands and family across the Channel. Various families in Normandy, such as the Estoutevilles and Vernons, looked to relatives in England, often mothers or sisters, to secure continued possession of the family lands in England. Earl William de Warenne looked after the English interests of his Norman brothers-in-law, while Roger and Isabella de Mortemer did the same for her brothers in Normandy. Many other barons maintained connections across the Channel, no doubt with a view to facilitating recovery of their interests should circumstances change. Sometimes these connections were former tenants and followers, as in the case of Ranulf earl of Chester and William du Hommet. In other cases, the extensive endowment of family members on both sides of the Channel ensured that most had representatives in England and Normandy after 1204, and these could be used to maintain connections across the Channel. Hence, Fulk II Paynel in Normandy almost certainly kept in touch with his two brothers in King John's service in England and the Channel Isles, facilitating Fulk's brief reconciliation with the king in 1214. Similarly cross-Channel connections were probably maintained between members of the Le Hommet, Mowbray and Warenne/Estouteville family in the decade after 1204.

The response of the baronial families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin to King John's loss of Normandy provides further confirmation of the continuing importance of their cross-Channel interests. Possession of these interests had defined their

identity for many generations, provided the basis of their wealth and status as barons, and represented connections and attachments of emotional significance for many families. The barons of these regions were heavily invested in the Anglo-Norman realm and generally supported the ruling dynasty of king-dukes, who maintained the political link between Normandy and England. This encouraged the barons to extend their interests and connections on both sides of the Channel, solidifying their support for the political status quo. Most of these families were heavily committed to their cross-Channel interests, not only through possession of their lands in both countries but also in terms of their identity as many sought, through the distribution of inheritances and dowries, to preserve their cross-Channel status for future generations, or fought hard to maintain important links and connections on both sides of the Channel. In these respects, the families of these regions present a significant contrast to those of the frontier regions of Normandy, where family ambitions often drew them to develop interests and connections beyond the borders of Normandy, diluting their commitment to the king-dukes. In the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, most barons looked to Normandy and England to develop their interests and advance their fortunes, and consequently their political and military support for the defence of the duchy against King Philip of France remained constant for as long as they had faith in the ability of the Plantagenet king-dukes to protect them.

Hence, in understanding the loss of Normandy we need to reconsider long held assumptions about its inevitability that are based partly on a belief in the declining cross-Channel interest of the barons. Similar studies for other regions of Normandy, particularly the central areas of the Bessin, Oximin and Lieuvin, may further illuminate the significance of the cross-Channel connection in underpinning the solid support of many barons for the Plantagenet cause throughout much of this period. It may also confirm that the cause of the ultimate loss of that support under King John in 1204 was his failure to provide effective political and military leadership. The political connection between Normandy and England was always vulnerable to rival political forces, from Flanders, Anjou and particularly from the kings of France. Much depended on the effective leadership of the king-duke to maximise internal support and secure external allies to counter these threats. The barons of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin did not withdraw support from King John because their interest in maintaining their lands and connections on both sides of the Channel had declined.

They did so because the strength of the external opposition to the king, the falling way of support in other Plantagenet lands and in the frontier regions, combined with his failing leadership, made their continued support of him in Normandy untenable, forcing them to cut their losses and find other ways to protect their cross-Channel interests.

Appendices

Appendix I

Baronial Families of the Pays de Caux and Cotentin, 1189-1204

A. Pays de Caux

Family	Barons	Landholding (Main Centres)[1]	
		Normandy	**England and Wales**
Auffay	Richard d'Auffay	Auffay (16)	One estate (Somerset)
Clare	Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford	Bolbec/Montivilliers (half of the Giffard honour) (51)	Clare, Tonbridge, Long Crendon (half of the Giffard honour) (198 1/4)
Esneval	Robert d'Esneval	Criquetot l'Esneval (12 1/4)	None found
Estouteville	Henry d'Estouteville	Valmont (8)	Crich (15)
Malet	William Malet	Graville-Sainte-Honorine (12 1/2)	Minor estates (Hertfordshire and Suffolk)
Marshal	William Marshal (earl of Pembroke from 1199)	Longueville (half of Giffard honour), Orbec, Cottrévard (62)	Chepstow (Striguil), Pembroke, Long Crendon (half of Giffard honour) (114 3/4)
Martel	William Martel	Bacqueville-en-Caux (8 1/3)	Estates in Dorset and Wiltshire (8)
Mortemer	Roger de Mortemer	Saint-Victor-en-Caux (13 1/2)	Wigmore (23)
Tancarville	William de Tancarville (died 1191) Ralph de Tancarville (from 1191)	Tancarville (94 3/4)	Various estates in many counties
Warenne	Hamelin de Warenne, earl of Surrey (died 1202) William V de Warenne, earl of Surrey (from 1202)	Bellencombre, Mortemer (36)	Lewes, Castleacre, Conisborough (145)

[1] Approximate number of knights' fees held given in parentheses.

B. Cotentin

Family	Barons	Landholding (Main Centres)[2]	
		Normandy	England and Wales
Arundel	William II earl of Arundel (died 1193) William III earl of Arundel (from 1193)	Aubigny (service owed $2^1/_2$ knights)	Arundel, Old Buckenham ($172^1/_2$)
Bertran	Robert Bertran IV (died 1202) Robert Bertran V (minor in 1202)	Bricquebec, Honfleur ($34^1/_2$)	Minor estates (Norfolk) (held of count of Aumale)
Bohon	Franco de Bohon (died in early 1190s) Enjuger II de Bohon	Saint-Georges-de-Bohon (7)	Midhurst (3) (held of earl of Arundel)
Chester	Ranulf III earl of Chester	Saint-Sever, Bricquessart (51)	Chester, Bolingbroke ($234^1/_2$)
Le Hommet	William du Hommet, constable of Normandy	Le Hommet, Remilly (23)	Various estates in many counties (10)
Mohun	William de Mohun (died 1193) Reginald de Mohun (minor from 1193 to 1205)	Moyon (11)	Dunster ($46^1/_2$)
Mowbray	Nigel de Mowbray (died 1191) William de Mowbray (from 1191)	Montbray (11)	Thirsk ($99^{11}/_{12}$)
Paynel	Fulk Paynel	Hambye (6)	Drax ($6^1/_2$)
Taisson	Ralph Taisson	Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, Thury-Harcourt ($45^1/_2$)	Patrixbourne (acquired 1190-1) ($7^1/_2$)
Vernon	Richard I de Vernon (died after 1196) Richard II de Vernon	Néhou, Vernon (46)	Minor estates (Isle of Wight)

[2] Approximate number of knights' fees held given in parentheses.

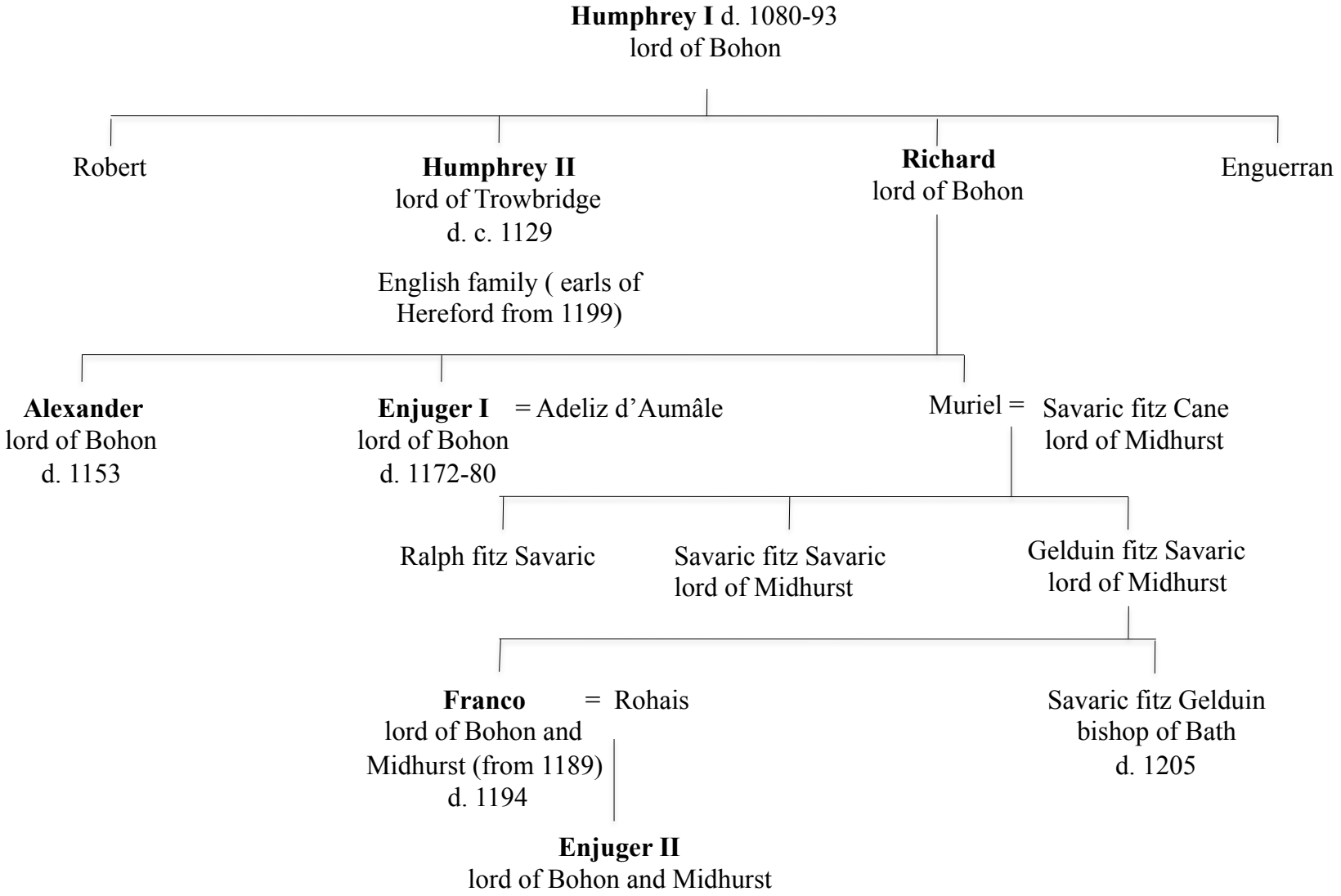
Appendix II

Genealogies

Contents

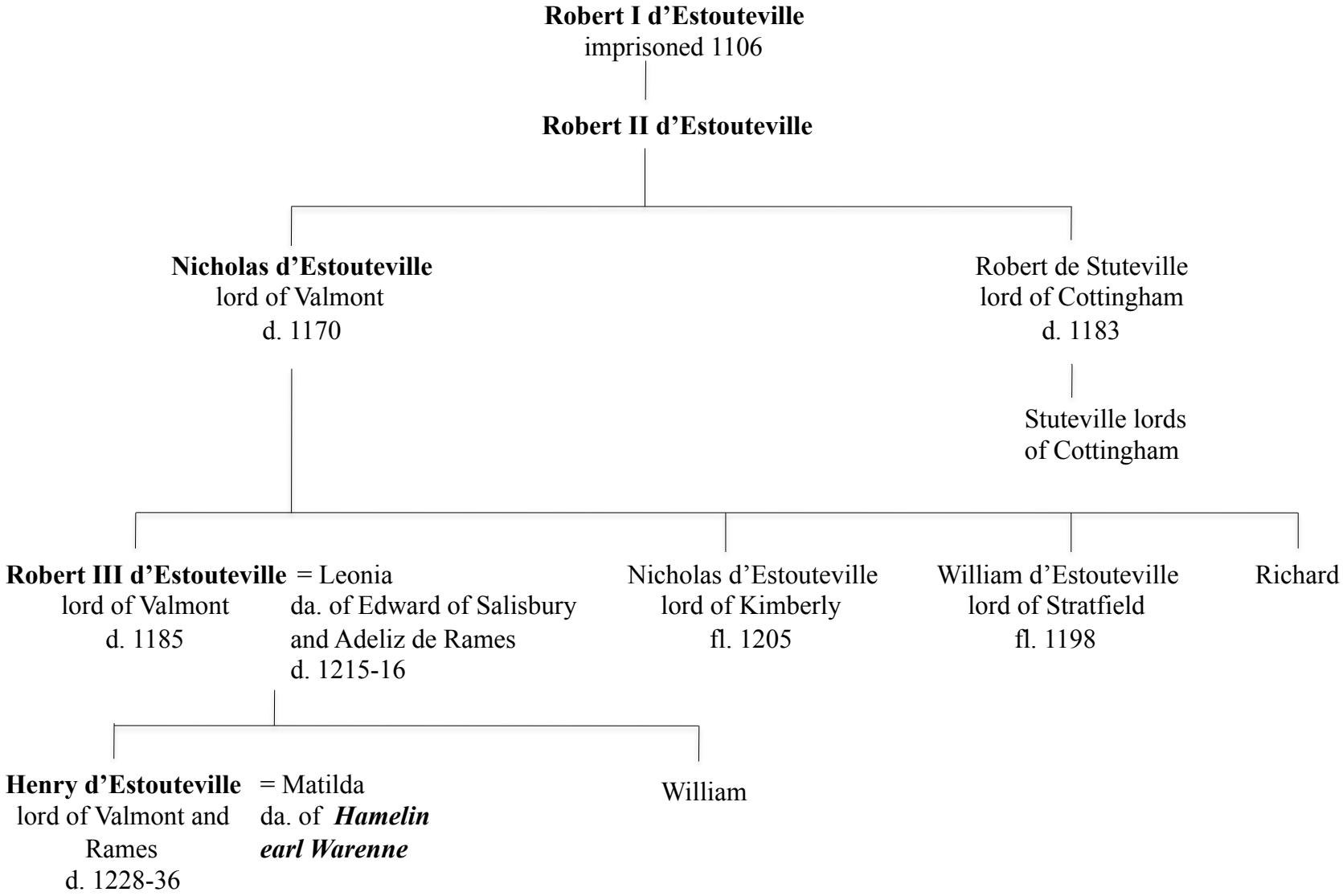
The genealogies are provided for those baronial families where the relationships and descent of the barony were complex. They have been simplified to aid clarity. The holders of the main family baronies are indicated in bold type. Other barons referenced in this study are indicated by italics.

Bohon



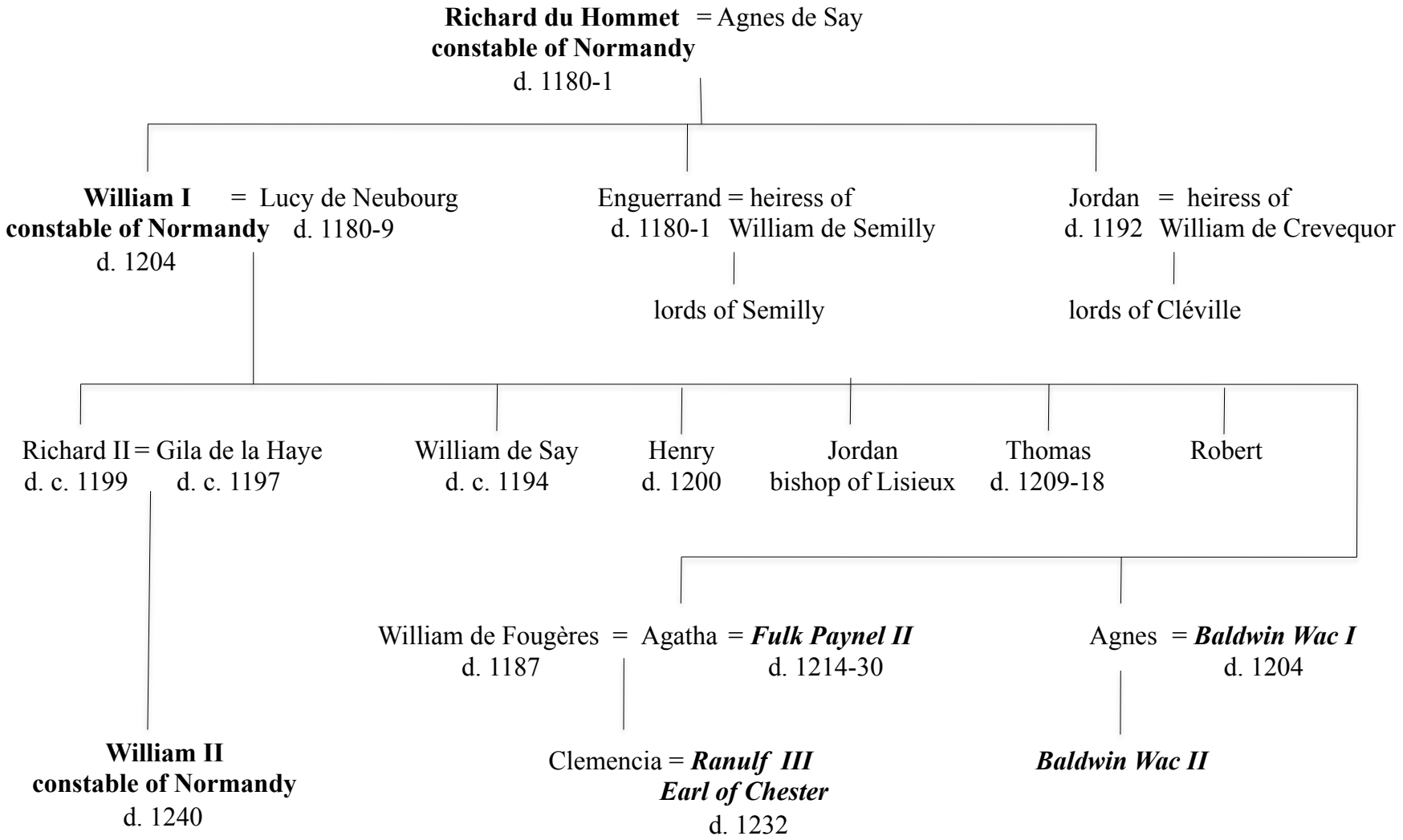
References: J. Le Melletier, *Les Seigneurs de Bohon* (Carentan, 1978); CBN iii no. 7; K. H. Thompson, 'Queen Adeliza and the Lotharingian Connection', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 140 (2002), p. 61; *LCR* no. 2219R; *PR* 6 Ric I p. 8.

Estouteville



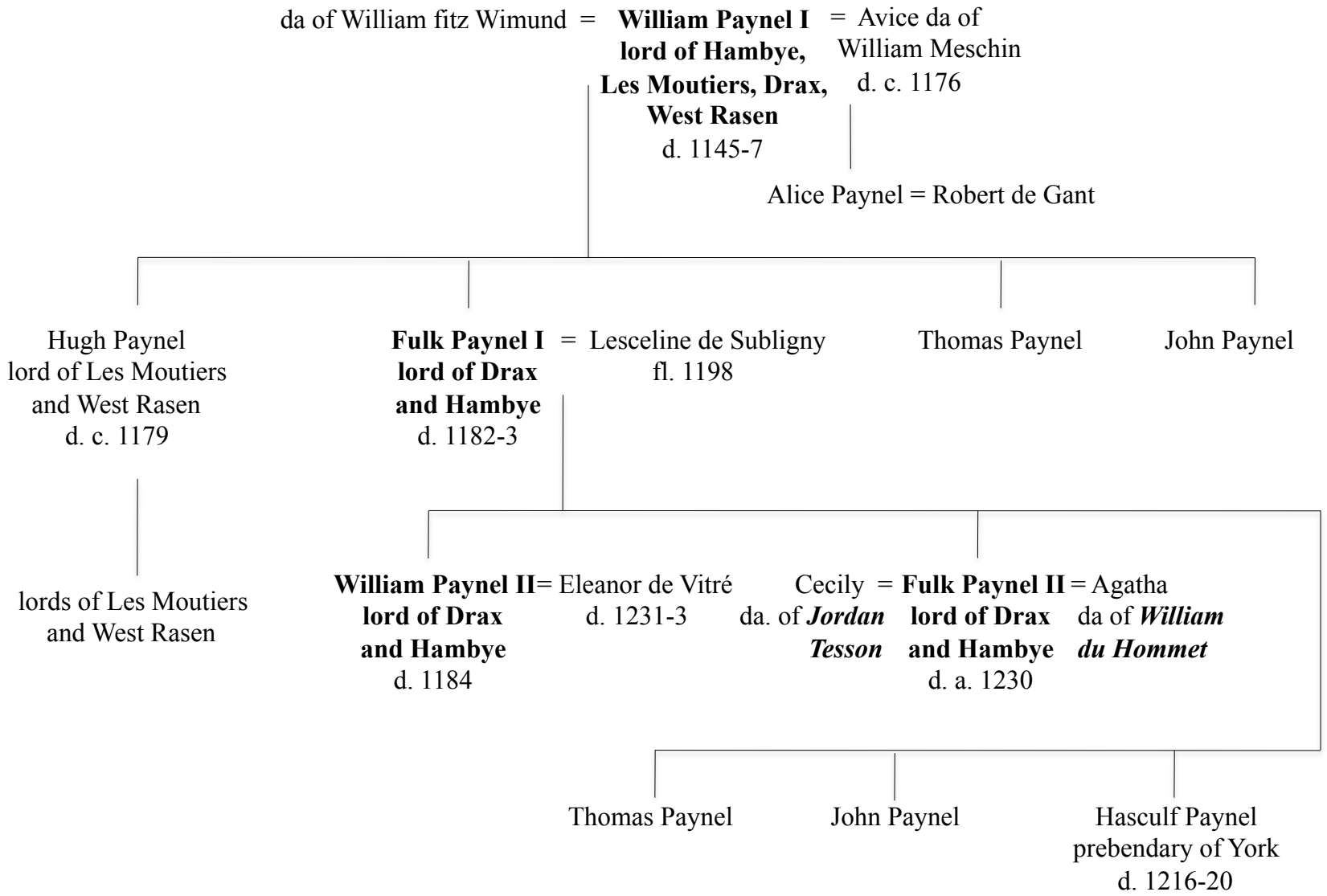
References: *EYC* ix pp. 1-3, 42; *CDF* no. 212; ADSM 19 H 2, 10 H 206; BL Harley MS 36401 fo. 65.

Le Hommet



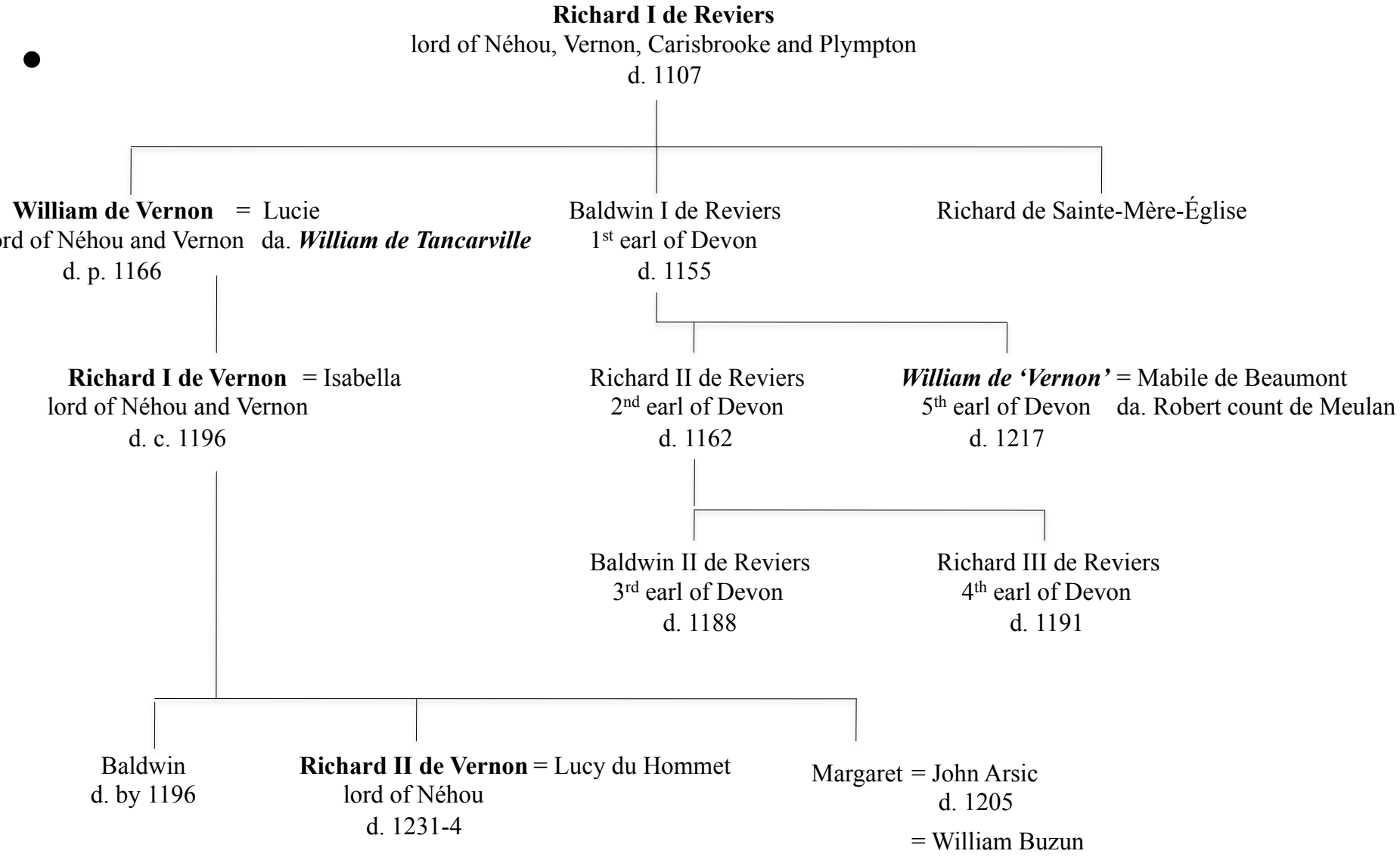
References: D. J. Power, ' Aristocratic Acta', pp. 259-86; *CDF* nos. 552, 779, 840; *Longueville* no. 69; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Luzerne*, ed. P. M. Dubosc (Saint-Lô, 1878) no 18; *IS de ADM* H21*; Southwick* i nos. 39, 63, 68, 74, 77, 138, iii no. 56; TNA PRO D27/26; BnF ms. lat. 17137 no. 387.

Paynel



References: *EYC* vi p. 1; *CDF* nos. 915, 1458; ADM H 4309 fo 4; *IS de ADM* H 4308; BnF ms. nouv. acq. franc. 21820 no. 21.

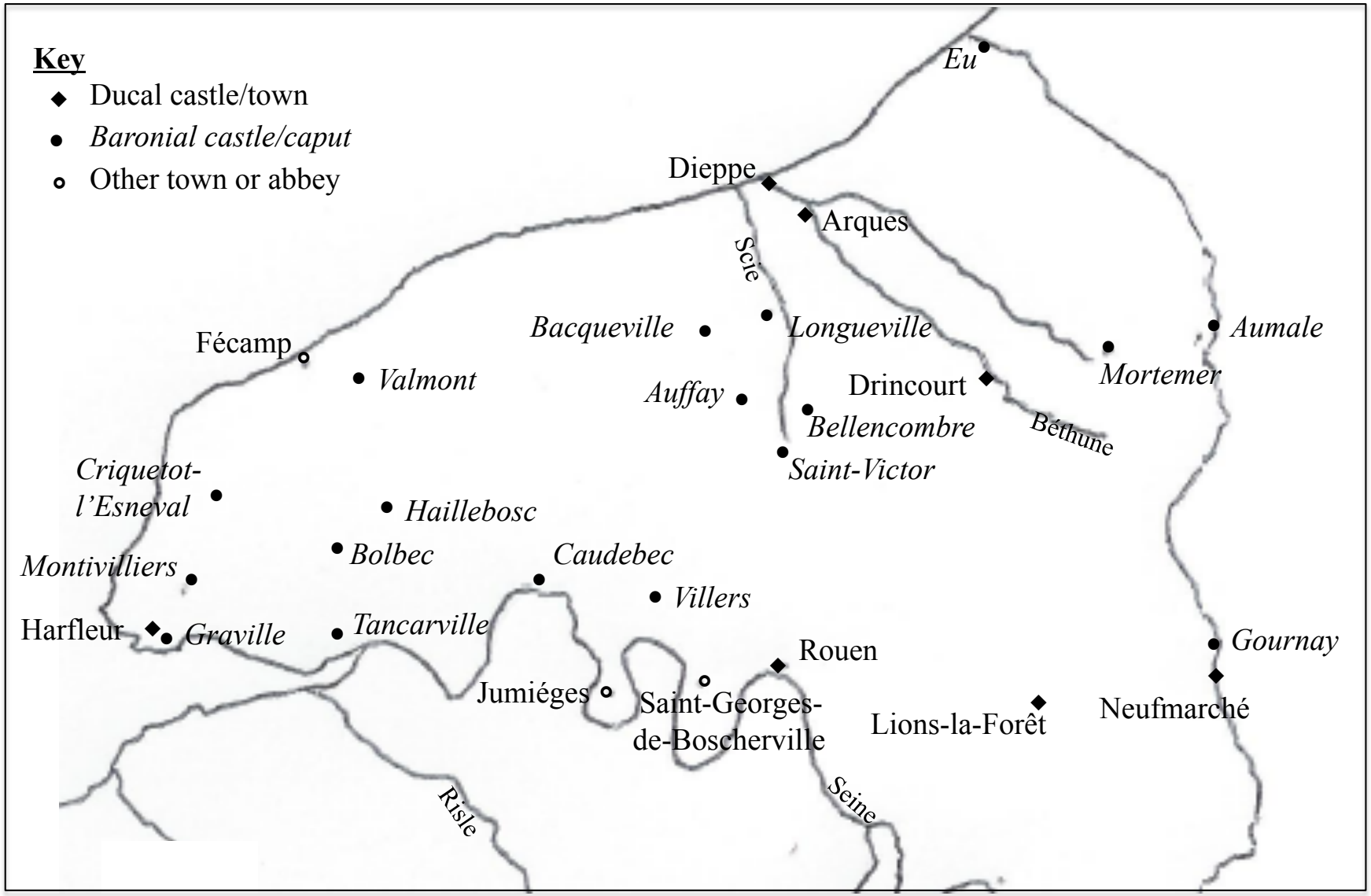
Reviers-Vernon



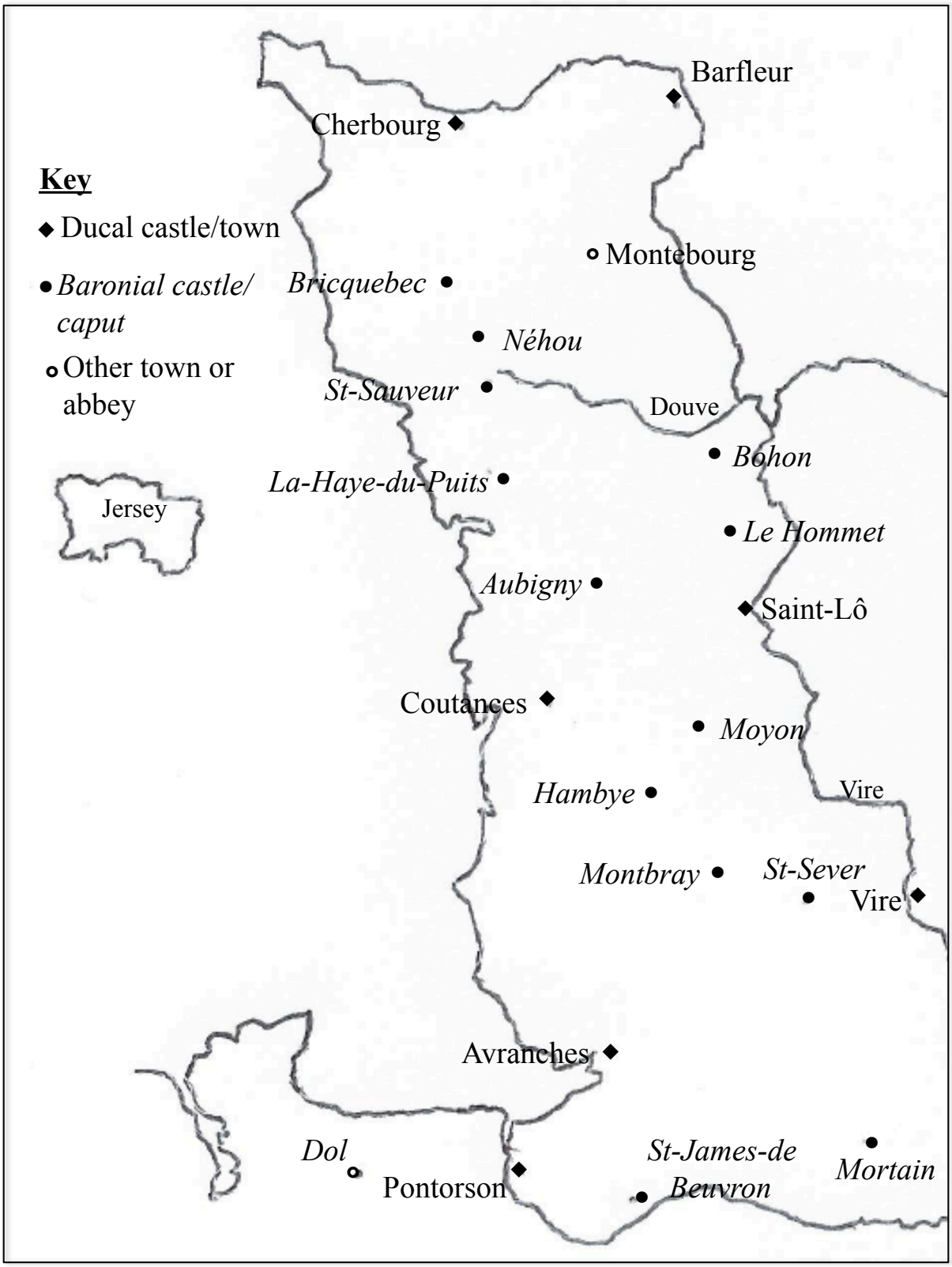
References: Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 526-7; *Redvers*, pp. 1-17, nos. 8, 121, 123; BnF ms. lat.10087 nos. 128, 147-9, 151.

Maps

Upper Normandy and the Pays de Caux



The Cotentin and Avranchin



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